

M. ANNAEI LVCANI

DE BELLO CIVILI

LIBER VII

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WITH

INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND CRITICAL APPENDIX

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PREFACE.

THE text of this edition of Book VII. of Lucan's *Civil War* is based in the main on the critical materials collected in the Teubner edition of Dr C. Hosius. For the notes the last English Commentary, that by the late Mr C. E. Haskins, has of course been frequently referred to; but they owe more to the older editions, especially those of Oudendorp, Burmann, and Bentley, and to Mr W. E. Heitland's excellent *Introduction to Lucan*. I have had in addition the use of a MS. English translation and notes by my friend and colleague, the Rev. R. St J. Parry, Tutor and Senior Dean of Trinity College, from which my commentary has derived much advantage, direct and indirect. In preparing the Historical Introduction, which is designed to give a picture of the most important battle of the Civil Wars, I have derived much assistance from the histories of Drumann, Long and Merivale, and from Col. Stoffel's military history of the Civil Wars with its valuable maps and plans. To my friend, Dr Jas. Gow, who read this part of my book, I am indebted for some useful criticisms and suggestions.

In the orthography of Latin words I have followed the

indications of the manuscripts except in the case of spellings admittedly corrupt, though I have not meddled with the customary spelling of words which, like Virgil, have long since become part of the English language. As a proof that the spelling of Latin as the Romans spelled it is a matter of more than theoretical importance I may refer to the critical note on line 658.

J. P. POSTGATE.

TRINITY COLLEGE.
August 20, 1896.

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THE BATTLE OF PHARSALIA.

§ 1. *The credibility of Lucan's account.*

Of the battle of Pharsalia, as of most events in the Civil Wars, we have but one contemporary account—the naturally one-sided narrative of Caesar. It is accordingly a matter of historical importance, as well as of literary interest, to ascertain whether the statements of Lucan may be believed. The consensus of modern historians to rank him among the authorities for the events which he describes is indeed not likely to be set aside; but it may well be asked within what limits and with what abatements there is historical verity in his presentation.

In the first place the character of his work must be remembered. Lucan was writing a poem and not a history; and accordingly he felt bound to employ the artifices of his craft. Anything therefore in his account which is poetically or rhetorically effective, and is at the same time intrinsically improbable and unconfirmed by independent testimony, may safely be ascribed to the invention of the rhetorical poet. The battle must be sudden, brought about by the clamours of the soldiery on its very morning. The mouthpiece of their mutinous request must be the chief of Roman orators. In the battle Brutus, disguised forsooth as a common soldier, must attempt

to anticipate the Ides of March[1]. It need hardly be said that the orations put in the mouths of Caesar, Pompey and others are fictitious when it is known that even professed historians would have been thought but poor masters of their art, if they had recorded instead of inventing the speeches of their characters[2].

Secondly, Lucan's poem was written with an object, whose nature he does not disguise from his readers, the glorification of the cause which was lost at Pharsalia[3]. And he seldom loses an opportunity of colouring and distorting events in the interests of the optimates and their leader. The luxury of the Pompeians is erased from the picture to make way for the rapacity of the Caesarians[4]. The collapse of Pompey after the defeat of his horse is covered up with rhetorical gloss. The laudation of the beaten, even the vilification of the victorious side, might be in part excused as the extravagance of a not ungenerous, if partial, enthusiasm; but what are we to say of the value of that republican spirit which condescends to manufacture an entire death-scene to flatter the family vanity of a Nero?

The poet himself often affords us indications which reveal the character of his own accounts. Rhetoric has but a short

[1] 45; 'Romani maximus auctor | Tullius eloquii,' 62; 586.

[2] A well-known example is the address of Claudius to the Senate on the enfranchisement of the Gauls. The Emperor's speech will be found in Gruter's Collection of inscriptions no. D 11, or Furneaux, Annals of Tacitus, vol. 2, Appendix; the historian's composition in Tacitus *Annals* II. 24. Some writers appeased their historical conscience by a curious expedient. The oblique narration was used for these imaginary exercises, the direct for real reports; as we learn from Pompeius Trogus, cited by Justin 38. 3 fin., who blames Livy and Sallust for disregarding this convention.

[3] It is clearly avowed in lines 207—213.

[4] It is curious to note how Lucan has dealt with the incidents of the scene of luxury in the Pompeian camp (see below, p. xxxi). The turf on which the 'unspeakable' Caesarians sleep has been cut for *the kings* (762). The gold and silver of which they make prize were for the *expenses of the war* (753).

memory; and facts are hard to hide. The eagerness of the Caesarians for battle sorts but ill with the length and elaborateness of their leader's speech; and when in book VIII the flying hero trembles at every rustle of the forest, we know what to think of the majestic calm, with which in book VII he sustains defeat.

It must not however be supposed that if a narrative of Lucan cannot be accepted as it stands, it is therefore destitute of all foundation. Exaggeration, suppression and distortion are in general easier modes of perverting than sheer fabrication; and a close and critical examination may sometimes discover, even in the wildest improbabilities, the vestiges of truth. For example, the command of Caesar for the destruction of his camp seems at first sight to be as wholly fictitious as it is utterly incredible; but nevertheless it appears to be based on a real incident, and perhaps on a real order[1]. The pause before the battle was a fact; but to understand its nature and circumstances we must discard the high-flown narrative of Lucan[2].

Even in the absence of all temptation to misstatement the accuracy of Lucan cannot be relied upon. In every branch of learning, history, geography, mythology, and science as it was then understood, he was the possessor of vast stores of multifarious information. But this learning was undigested and inexact; and his self-confidence led him into error at every turn.

For some of his mistakes it is true he is not himself primarily responsible. The confusion of the two great battlefields, the bullets that melt in their course, the hemorrhage that forces the weapon from the wound[3]: all of these he had found in the writings of his predecessors[4]. In other cases his sub-

[1] Below, p. xxvi, n. 1.

[2] 460—9, see below, p. xxviii.

[3] 872, 513, 622 and notes.

[4] We cannot determine to whom is due the mistake in the movements of the Pompeian horse (506 n.); and the numerical error in 219 (see the note) may have been in his copy of Livy. But if so, a careful inquirer would have probably detected it.

stantial accuracy appears to have been overlooked. He has committed no geographical error in placing Pholoe in Thessaly[1], nor any historical one in the mention of Spanish targeteers among the forces engaged at Pharsalia[2]. The inundation of the Enipeus, to which little prominence is given in his narrative, is confirmed by collateral and independent evidence[3]; and the striking correctness of his account of the decisive charge of Caesar's reserve appears to warrant us in removing a corruption which disfigures a portion of the description[4].

On the other hand we might reasonably expect him to know the occasion of his hero's first triumph[5], and not to assign to his favourite birds the tastes of carrion crows[6]. More than once too he mars his own workmanship by a failure to realize the expressions that he employs[7].

It would appear then that, so far at least as Lucan's account of Pharsalia is concerned, the praise of Col. Stoffel is too strong: 'Or Lucain mérite ici toute créance; car lorsqu'il ne s'agit que de rapporter les faits (nous ne disons: quand il s'agit de les juger), le poète de Cordoue se montre un historien des plus véridiques' (*Histoire de Jules César, Guerre Civile*, vol. II., p. 251). Others however have erred in the opposite direction.

§ 2. *The authorities of Lucan.*

As Lucan was no eye-witness or contemporary of the events which he narrates, whatever verity his narrative possesses it must owe entirely to the sources from which it was derived.

[1] 827 n.

[2] 232, where the emendation of Omnibonus *Celtas* for *cetras* is entirely mistaken.

[3] 224, 226 and notes, and below p. xxiv, n. 3.

[4] 522 (see note and Crit. App.) and below p. xxvi. It may be added that the description of Pompey's voyage from Lesbos in book VIII is excellent, as Mr Parry has observed.

[5] 14 n.

[6] 832 n.

[7] *See e.g. 158 note* on solutis, 748.

There appear good grounds for believing that one, and perhaps the chief, of these was the now lost history of Livy. More than one incident, of which Lucan is now the earliest witness, is said to have been recorded in Livy, e.g. that of the Augur Cornelius[1]. A predecessor of Lucan, Valerius Maximus, the industrious collector of anecdotes, used Livy and refers to him; and there are some striking agreements between Lucan and Valerius Maximus[2]. A succeeding historian, L. Annaeus Florus, drew chiefly from Livy[3]; and Lucan and Florus are often in the closest agreement[4]. Lucan again must have been naturally drawn to a writer whose treatment of the aristocrats was so 'Pompeian[5].' Nor is it superfluous to observe that the frequency with which Livy may be used for the illustration of Lucan's phraseology points of itself to the same conclusion[6].

So far as I know, no evidence is forthcoming that Lucan did actually draw from any other source. There is nothing to show that he used the lost history of Asinius Pollio, and if within the present book he made any use of the narrative of Caesar, it was certainly only for the purpose of contradicting it.

[1] 192 n., and below p. xxii.

[2] See notes on 153, 712.

[3] His history is called an epitome of Livy; see Teuffel's *History of Roman Literature*, ed. 2, § 348 notes 1 and 2.

[4] It has been sought to explain these agreements by the hypothesis that Florus copied Lucan. That Florus had read the 'Civil War,' that for ideas and expressions he is often indebted to its author, may well be admitted. But to suppose that in questions of *fact* the epitomator of a history would abandon its statements for those of a poem written more than a century after the events is an imputation of incompetence not admissible without the strictest proof. The same may be said of Appian.

[5] Tac. *Ann.* 4. 34 'T. Liuius—Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret.' Compare on the whole question Mr Heitland, *Introduction*, p. 127.

[6] See e.g. the notes on 132, 269, 276, 351, 494, 732, 830.

§ 3. *Other authorities.*

The only contemporary account of the battle is that in Caesar's *de bello ciuili*[1]. This has to be supplemented by the accounts of Plutarch (*Lives of Caesar and Pompeius*), Florus, Appian; and brief notices in the epitome of Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Suetonius, Eutropius, Orosius and the military writers Polyaenus and Frontinus[2].

In the following narrative I follow Caesar in the main; but I have added from other authorities everything that there seems no ground to disbelieve.

§ 4. *Historical sketch. Dyrrhachium to Pharsalia.*

After the double disaster which in May, 48 B.C.[3], Caesar had brought upon himself by his audacious attempt to blockade a superior with an inferior force, his position round Dyrrhachium was untenable; and he at once decided to withdraw into the interior. His route of march was across the river Genusus through Asparagium to Apollonia, his first destination. His retreat was rapid, and effected without loss; indeed the pursuing Pompeians suffered severely in a cavalry engagement on the banks of the Genusus. Leaving four cohorts to defend Apollonia and three at Oricum to protect his wounded, while one was

[1] Caesar's narrative appears to be quite trustworthy on the whole, but it omits a number of details, which the writer perhaps did not think important enough to record.

[2] The account in Dio Cassius 41. 53—62 is entirely worthless. All the distinctive features of the engagement are obliterated, and in lieu the feelings of the combatants are described at tedious length in a washy imitation of Thucydides.

[3] Owing to the confusion in the Roman calendar and other causes exact dates in our reckoning cannot be given. In Col. Stoffel's conjectural system this date is May 26, and that of the battle of Pharsalia June 29.

detached to occupy Lissus, he proceeded up the valley of the Aous past *Joánnina* to the pass of *Métzovo* and arrived at Aeginium (*Stagús*) in north-west Thessaly where he was joined some seven days later by his lieutenant, Domitius Caluinus[1], with the army which had been operating against Scipio[2] in Eastern Macedonia. The country was hostile; for the news of Dyrrhachium had spread like wildfire; and Gomphi, which was the first town of Thessaly they reached, and which a few months before had placed all its resources at Caesar's disposal, closed its gates against him. It was promptly stormed and abandoned to pillage. There were large stores of wine and provisions in the place, and the soldiery recouped themselves for the privations of the march by a drunken carouse, in which the German troops were the most distinguished[3]. From Gomphi Caesar proceeded to Metropolis (now *Paleokastro*), which also had meditated resistance; but the account which Caesar's prisoners gave of the fall of Gomphi speedily opened its walls. No harm was done to the inhabitants. Other towns accordingly followed its example, and with the exception of Larisa and its immediate neighbourhood[4], Caesar was master of Thessaly.

Meanwhile Pompey, who had ceased to pursue Caesar after his arrival in Apollonia, marched through Candauia by the Via Egnatia into Macedonia, while Scipio, after the retirement of Domitius southward, crossed the Cambunian mountains to Larisa. Pompey followed him and joined him not long after the arrival of Caesar in Thessaly.

In the two armies thus united both generals held equal and

[1] Gnaeus Domitius Caluinus, not to be confused with L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the Pompeian leader.

[2] Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, proconsul of Syria, the father of Cornelia, the last wife of Pompey.

[3] οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐκ λιμοῦ πάντων ἐνεπίμπλαντο ἀθρόως καὶ ἐμεθύσκοντο ἀπρεπῶς καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν οἱ Γερμανοὶ γελοιότατοι κατὰ τὴν μέθην ἦσαν Appian, *bell. ciuil.* 2. c. 64.

[4] Then occupied by the vast forces of Scipio, Caes. *B. C.* 3. 81. 2, 'Larisaeos qui magnis exercitibus Scipionis tenebantur.'

independent commands[1]; but the chief conduct of the war remained with Pompey. The forces now at his disposal were on paper most imposing. The legionary soldiers were more than twice as numerous as Caesar's, while the cavalry outnumbered his sevenfold[2]. Besides there were over 4,000 slingers and bowmen[3], and a prodigious horde of auxiliaries. Never had a Roman commander brought such a vast and multifarious army into the field; and our poet may well be forgiven the hyperbole of calling it a world in arms[4]. Of the regular troops, five legions had crossed with Pompey from Italy[5]; another was composed of veterans who had settled in Crete and Macedonia who had volunteered for service (*euocati*), another was from Cilicia[6], two came from the province of Asia under the com-

[1] Compare the words of Caesar c. 82. 1 '*suum cum Scipione honorem* partitur classicumque apud eum cani et alterum illi iubet praetorium tendi.'

[2] 117 cohorts or 48,000 men and 2000 veterans of the reserve (euocati) as against 75 cohorts or 24,000: 7,000 cavalry as against 1000.

[3] 2 cohorts of slingers of 600 each and 3,000 bowmen.

[4] *mundus* 70, 233, al.

[5] These included the two from the army of Gaul which Caesar had surrendered to the Senate.

[6] The MSS of Caesar *B. C.* 3. 4. 1 have 'ex *Sicilia*,' which does not agree with 3. 88. 3 '*Ciliciensis* legio.' The emendation of Ciacconius *Cilicia* is confirmed by the circumstance that the legion was called *gemella* by Pompey because it was made out of two, and we know from *ad Att.* 5. 15. 1 that the force which Cicero had at his disposal when governor of Cilicia 50—49 B.C. consisted of two attenuated legions. Against this it has been urged that Lucan says ('agmina quae Cilicum terris deducta tenebat | Scipio,' 222) that these Cilician forces came with Scipio. There is however no reason for thus pressing words which must refer primarily to the *Syrian* legions (above p. xv, n. 2), and Lucan's mention of Cilicia is quite justified by the circumstance that the operations (*detrimentis* as Caesar sarcastically calls them), in virtue of which Scipio assumed the title of imperator, took place about Mount Amanus. Moreover, even a definite statement of Lucan would have little weight against such a coincidence as we have pointed out.

mand of P. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, consul in 49; fifteen cohorts were from the army of Gaius Antonius whom Pompey's lieutenants, M. Octavius and L. Scribonius Libo, had compelled to capitulate in Corcyra Nigra (*Curzola*)[1], seven from the beaten and disbanded army of Afranius in Spain; and last but not least were the two legions which Scipio had brought from Syria[2]. The horsemen included 600 Galli or Galatians commanded by Deiotarus their tetrarch, 300 from the same district under the command of Castor[3] and Domnilaus, 500 under Ariobarzanes from Cappadocia, 500 under Sadalas, the son of Cotys, from Thrace, 200 Macedonians under the command of the able Rhascypolis, 500 Gauls and Germans from Egypt, where Gabinius had left them to protect king Ptolemy Auletes, 200 from Commagene furnished by Antiochus, whom Pompey had restored to his kingdom, 800 drawn from the slaves and shepherds of Pompey and his friends, and unspecified numbers from the Dardani and Bessi, mountain tribes in the skirts of Haemus, from Macedonia, Thessaly and the vicinity[4]. His corps of bowmen was gathered from Crete, Lacedaemon, Pontus, Syria and elsewhere. Of the auxiliary forces, of whom the major part came with Scipio from Asia, no enumeration is possible. They included levies from most of the Greek States and from every portion of the East Mediterranean, even Hebrews and Arabs, and contingents from Eastern and Western Armenia[5]. The babble of tongues in this Roman camp was like that on the

[1] Caesar *B. C.* 3. 4. 2, Orosius 6. 15.

[2] Pompey regarded these as the most reliable of his troops; Caesar *B. C.* 3. 88. 4, cf. Lucan *v.* 221.

[3] Son of the reigning 'king' Tarcondarius, or Tarcondimotus, Castor.

[4] The details of Pompey's cavalry and legionary infantry are mainly from Caesar *B. C.* 3. 4, and refer to the period antecedent to the engagements at Dyrrhachium.

[5] For the nationalities in the Pompeian army see the long enumeration, Lucan III 169—297, VII 224—232, 514 sq., 540 sqq., and the less romantic account in Appian 2. cc. 70, 71.

memorable day of Pentecost; and the words of the sacred writer[1] may be almost literally applied: "Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, in Judæa and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, in Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt and the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and sojourners from Rome, both Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians[2]."

In point of numbers then Pompey had an immense superiority; but quite other was the fighting value of his vast array. By constant and careful drilling he had turned his raw recruits into moderately well-trained soldiers[3]; but they were not the veterans of Caesar. As the sequel showed, he could count indeed upon their fidelity; but he could not evoke their enthusiasm. His cavalry owed their superiority to numbers alone, and his auxiliaries were little more than a useless incumbrance. The successes of Dyrrhachium had inspired his troops with confidence in their leader and themselves; but they had at the same time released all the elements of disorder. The spirit of the nobles, whether holding military command or serving as volunteers in the camp, was almost beyond control. Confident of victory and burning to return to the Capital, their impatience of discipline was only equalled by their impatience of delay, and the contempt which they felt for their opponents was rapidly extended to their leader. If Pompey's strength of character had been one half of his military talent, or a quarter of his egotism, he would have been able to cope with the evil. As it was, the feebleness of the head and the unruliness of the members constituted a situation which to the discerning was full of alarm[4].

[1] *Acts* ii. Lucan's Caesar well sums them up in the contemptuous phrase 'mixtae dissona turbae barbaries' (272).

[2] The grand total, though undoubtedly very large, is certainly wildly exaggerated by Florus (2. 13. 44) 300,000 'praeter auxilia reges et senatum.' Appian c. 70 mentions that some put it at 400,000.

[3] He had not spared himself in doing so. Plut. *Pomp.* 64. After all his efforts the description of Cicero was still correct 'signa *tirone et collectitio* exercitu cum legionibus robustissimis contulit' *ad Fam.* 7. 3. 2; cf. Lucan 102.

[4] Cicero was one of them. But he was no longer with the army,

These indeed did not require the tokens which to pious or desponding spirits conveyed the menace of divine displeasure. A violent storm opposed the passage of the army into Thessaly. Day was suddenly turned into night, fire flashed in their faces, and tear-drops, as it seemed, trickled down the still republican eagles[1]. Upon one of the ensigns a swarm of bees settled, and its bearer could hardly lift from the ground the overpowering weight[2].

Seven days after the sack of Gomphi Caesar moving eastward entered the Pharsalian plain, and encamping in a suitable position awaited the Pompeian advance[3]. The ripening corn promised him abundant supplies; and his troops were in the highest spirits and condition, all eagerness to face the foe and wipe out the shameful memory of Dyrrhachium[4]. Accordingly when his antagonist, about a week later, marching southward from Larisa took up a strong position on the hills to the north or

having stayed behind ill at Dyrrhachium; see Plutarch *Cic.* 39 *init.*, compared with *Cato min.* 55 and Cic. *ad Att.* 11. 5. 3, and Cicero himself *de Diu.* 1. 68, 69. Lucan's statement that he was the mouthpiece of the demand for battle is a rhetorical violation of history without a particle of justification, unless we draw it from the words of the *periocha* of Livy, 'Cn. Pompeius ad Dyrrhachium obsessus a Caesare et, praesidiis eius cum magna clade diuersae partis expugnatis, obsidione liberatus, translato in Thessaliam bello, apud Pharsaliam acie uictus est. Cicero *in castris remansit*, uir nihil minus quam ad bella natus,' but *castris* there means the camp near Dyrrhachium, as it is clear from Cicero's own phrase (*Diu.* 1. 68) he was not in Dyrrhachium itself. These last words on Cicero's peace-loving disposition come at least in substance from Livy; and it is worth noting how Lucan twists the same sentiment to his own purpose (65 sq.).

[1] See 154, 177, 163 'rorantia fletu | usque ad Thessaliam Romana et publica signa' and notes. It is not difficult to conjecture the connexion between these three phenomena.

[2] 162 n.

[3] Appian 2. c. 64. Caesar l. c. on 98 note.

[4] According to Plutarch, *Caesar* 43, to Caesar's question, would they wait for reinforcements? they replied emphatically 'No.'

north-east of the city of Pharsalus, Caesar at once moved in his direction to ascertain if he had any intention or inclination to fight. He pitched his camp about three miles and a half from Pompey's[1]. Day after day he drew out his forces for battle, advancing at last almost to the very foot of the hills. But the conqueror of Dyrrhachium remained immovable. Plan of campaign Pompey had none; but he fondly hoped that his adversary's eager and impetuous spirit would once more draw him into a position of disadvantage. Though a general engagement was thus postponed, conflicts between the cavalry occurred; and in these the Caesarians held their own. For Caesar, following a plan which he had previously found of service, interspersed among his horse a number of the young and active legionaries specially armed for the purpose[2]; and thus, as he tells us, a thousand horse ventured to face seven thousand of the enemy in the open field. One success must have been particularly gratifying: the skirmish in which fell one of the two Allobrogian chieftains, to whose treacherous desertion of their ancient leader Pompey owed the valuable information which had enabled him to break through Caesar's lines of circumvallation[3].

Meanwhile in the Pompeian camp insubordination was rapidly swelling to mutiny. The presumption of the nobility knew no bounds. Nothing follows a victory more certainly than dissensions over the spoils: but here they preceded it. In the quarrel who should have the pontificate of Caesar the three Pompeian commanders, Domitius, Scipio and Lentulus, descended to the most violent abuse. Lucius Rufus openly charged Afranius with treason for his mismanagement in Spain; and Domitius proposed that all who had taken no part in the military operations should be tried for their life[4]. Pompey him-

[1] 30 stades, Appian, c. 65 fin.

[2] antesignani, Caesar c. 84. 3.

[3] See Caesar l. c. on 231.

[4] Caesar c. 83. This was aimed at Cicero amongst others. See n. 4 on p. xviii.

self was not spared: his inaction was vehemently attacked and his vanity openly derided. How long was this Agamemnon, this 'king of kings'[1], to drag his vassal princes and a submissive senate at his heels? Procrastination now was not prudence; it was mere cowardice, lust of authority, or worse. If the general would not fight, the soldiers would. Weary of clamour and apprehensive of the consequences of further delay, Pompey summoned a council of war, announced that he would offer battle on the morrow, and unfolded his plan[2]. It was simplicity itself. Before the infantry closed, before a single missile had been discharged on the enemy, the cavalry were to be precipitated upon their unguarded flank, and Caesar's army would be routed. 'I have communicated this plan,' he said, 'to our cavalry and they have agreed to carry it out[3].' He was followed by Labienus, once Caesar's most trusted officer in the Gallic campaigns, who declared that Caesar's soldiers were not the formidable victors of Gaul and Germany, nearly all of whom had perished in battle or by disease, but recent levies from Gallia Citerior, and, for the most part, from the colonies beyond the Padus. He concluded by taking an oath that he would not return to the camp until the victory was won and bidding the rest do likewise. Pompey applauded and swore the same, as did all the other leaders present. The sequel will show how these oaths were kept.

[1] So L. Domitius called him. Plutarch *Pomp.* 67, *Caes.* 41, Appian c. 67. The stupid Dio took 'Agamemnon' to be a compliment (42. 5).

[2] Plutarch *Pomp.* 68 represents this council as taking place the day before the battle; Caesar c. 86. 1 has the indefinite expression, 'superioribus diebus,' 'on a previous day,' which however must be interpreted by the light of 'in posterum diem' in § 5, so that there is no contradiction between Caesar and Plutarch, as Col. Stoffel imagines, vol. II. p. 240.

[3] 'Persuasi equitibus nostris idque mihi facturos confirmauerunt ut, cum propius sit accessum, dextrum Caesaris cornu ab latere aperto adgrederentur et circumuenta acie prius perturbatum exercitum pellerent quam a nobis telum in hostem iaceretur,' Caes. c. 86. Incident and expression (*persuasi*) alike throw a vivid light on the weakness of Pompey's authority.

In the camp the capitulation of the general to his followers was received with unbounded exultation, and preparations were eagerly made for the battle and the adequate celebration of the victory of which it was to be the mere preliminary. But even the delirious self-confidence of Pompey could not close all the avenues of superstition and anxiety[1]. His night was a troubled, if not an ominous one. A fiery meteor from above the enemy's camp swept through the sky and appeared to fall on his own[2]. The animal which was to be offered according to customary practice before the battle escaped from the grasp of the attendants, overturning the altar in its flight[3]. One of those strange 'panic' disturbances, which were so common in ancient armies of any size, disordered the camp. Just before or after this commotion[4] the vexed thoughts of Pompey took shape in the singular dream of which Lucan has given us a description conceived in his noblest style. Its vivid imagery deeply impressed the sleeper, and in its ambiguous indications he read a message of hope and fear[5].

It was widely believed that presages of the impending conflict were not confined to the combatants themselves, but that in the most remote parts of the Roman world it cast its shadow over the minds of men[6]. At Patavium on the day of the battle Gaius Cornelius, an augur, whose priestly office was made more venerable by his noble birth and unblemished life, suddenly fell into a trance and described to the marvelling and incredulous

[1] Pompey had collected omens with the industry of a 'Psychical Society.' See the striking words of Cicero *de Diuin.* 2. 53.

[2] Plutarch, *Pomp.* 68, *Caes.* 43.

[3] 165 n.

[4] According as we follow Appian c. 68 or Plutarch *Pomp.* l. c.

[5] Plutarch *Pomp.* l. c. adds that he dreamed besides that he was decorating the shrine of Venus Victrix with warlike spoils. Venus was of course the patron divinity of the Julian line and *Venus Victrix* the battle-cry of the Caesarians at Pharsalia. That of the Pompeians was *Hercules inuictus*, Appian, c. 76 fin.

[6] Lucan 187 sqq.

bystanders all the circumstances of the fight[1]. A common sailor on a quinquereme in the Rhodian fleet which was stationed at Dyrrhachium, under the command of C. Coponius, had foretold amongst other predictions that within 30 days Greece would be drenched with blood. This prophecy was carried by Coponius to the Pompeian leaders in the camp at Petra. Varro, Cato, and even Cicero himself were much alarmed; and a few days after Labienus arrived a fugitive from Pharsalia[2]. Caesar himself who in his narrative of the battle makes no mention of omens[3], devotes a later chapter to describing the portents which had astonished the Eastern world. At Antioch and Ptolemais on two occasions during the day of the fight such a shouting of troops and noise of military instruments was heard that the citizens armed and rushed to the walls. At a temple in Pergamus tambours sounded in the inmost shrine. Within a temple of Victory at Tralles, where there was a statue of Caesar, a palm sprouted from the pavement between the interstices of the stones. At Elis even, on the very day of Caesar's triumph as a subsequent calculation showed, an image of Victory in the temple of Minerva which had previously faced the statue of the goddess turned round on its pedestal so as to front the door[4].

The day of Pharsalia broke dull and cloudy[5]; but the sun had shone out on the Pompeian host before it descended into the plain, and the battle was fought in the fierce heat of a southern June[6]. Leaving seven cohorts to defend his camp and

[1] Gellius (*noct. Att.* 15. c. 18) and others; see notes on 192, 204 and above, p. xiii, n. 1.

[2] Cic. *de Diuin.* 1. 68, 69.

[3] Not even of those which would fall within his own observation; Plutarch, *Caes.* 43.

[4] Caesar c. 105.

[5] I follow Lucan (1 sq.) on the principle laid down above p. xiv, though his account is suspiciously rhetorical.—The date of Pharsalia in the unreformed Roman calendar was August 9; but the battle was actually fought in June.

[6] Lucan 214 'aduerso Phoebi radiatus ab ictu' (where however it would be unsafe to elicit from aduerso any topographical indication).

its outlying posts, Pompey advanced into the plain till he reached a position suitable for the execution of the manœuvre which was to give him the victory. His right wing, under the command of Lentulus[1], rested on a small stream[2] whose precipitous banks and the swampy ground which it had recently deluged formed a sufficient protection against a flank attack[3]. Here were the Cilician legion and the cohorts which Afranius had brought from Spain[4]. Except for a small detachment of 600[5], there were no cavalry on this wing. In the centre were the steady Syrian legions with Scipio as commander. The left wing, where Pompey himself commanded in chief, consisted of the two legions which had been withdrawn from Caesar before the outbreak of the war, under the immediate charge of the fierce Domitius, while the rest of the legionaries filled the space between the centre and the wings[6]. The particulars of Pompey's formations have been preserved. There were the usual three lines, and each line was ten deep[7]. On the extreme

Caesar c. 95. 2 'magno aestu fatigati, nam ad meridiem res erat perducta'; compare Plutarch *Brutus* 4 *ἦν μὲν ἀκμὴ θέρους καὶ καῦμα πολὺ πρὸς ἑλώδεσι χωρίοις ἐστρατοπεδευκότων* (of the day before Pharsalia).

1 See however note on 218.

2 The Enipeus according to some of our authorities: see note on the topography.

3 For the floods see Lucan 224 and note. Compare also the words of Plutarch just quoted *πρὸς ἑλώδεσι χωρίοις.*

4 These were of course legionaries (*scutati*) and are not to be confused with the light-armed *caetrati*, 232 note.

5 According to Frontinus, 500 according to Orosius and Eutropius. Col. Stoffel perhaps rightly identifies them with the Pontic horse of Lucan 226. This detachment, which played no part in the battle, is not mentioned by Caesar quoted in note on 506.

6 'reliquas inter aciem mediam cornuaque interiecerat, numeroque cohortes CX expleuerat,' Caesar c. 88. 4.

7 By Frontinus *Strat.* 2. 3. 22 'Cn. Pompeius aduersus C. Caesarem Palaepharsali triplicem instruxit aciem quarum singulae denos ordines in latitudinem habuerunt. legiones secundum uirtutem cuiusque firmissimas in cornibus et in medio collocauit; spatia his interposita tironibus suppleuit.'

left, where there was open ground for every evolution, were posted the cavalry and the light-armed. Of the auxiliaries the Macedonian, Peloponnesian, Boeotian and Athenian hoplites alone were placed in a line with the legionaries; the rest, arrayed according to their tribes, were stationed apart, with orders to wait till the battle was decided, to join in the pursuit and to seize the hostile camp[1]. His dispositions made, Pompey awaited the approach of the enemy.

When Caesar failed to draw his opponent into an engagement, he changed his plan of campaign. He resolved to break up his present camp, and, by continually moving from place to place, to secure his own supplies, to wear out the Pompeians who in marching powers were much inferior to his own veterans, and to watch for every opportunity of striking a blow[2].

The change was to be made that very morning. The signal for departure had been given, the tents were struck[3], the line of march was already defiling through the gates of the camp, when his scouts brought in the intelligence that Pompey was offering the battle which he had so long declined[4]. Caesar did not hesitate. Telling his troops that they had not now to march but to fight, and that the long wished-for opportunity was come at last and might not soon return, he drew them out in fighting order without an instant's delay[5]. Leaving seven cohorts[6], or about 3,000

[1] Appian c. 75, cf. Lucan 221 sqq. I cannot subscribe to Merivale's censure of Lucan here.

[2] Caesar, c. 85. 2.

[3] 'detensis tabernaculis' Caes., τὰς σκηνὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν καθαιρούντων Plut. *Pomp.* 68.

[4] The first arrivals brought word of the glitter of arms moving in the Pompeian camp and the tumult of approaching exit; the second told of the marshalling of the vanguard for battle; Plut. *Pomp.* l.c.

[5] The excellent discipline of the Caesarians made this an easy matter; Plut. *Pomp.* 68 fin., Lucan 330.

[6] Note on 326. The numeral II in Caesar is plainly corrupt; but it may be doubted whether it should be altered to VI or VII. Appian

men, to guard the camp[1], Caesar then entered the field with eighty cohorts, that is eight legions consisting of about 22,000 men. In addition to the legionaries he had 1,000 horse and some auxiliary troops: Appian mentions besides Gallic cavalry, a number of Transalpine Gauls, and a force of Greek peltasts from Dolopia, Acarnania and Aetolia. His legionaries he drew up in the usual three lines. On the right wing, commanded by P. Cornelius Sulla, he placed the famous tenth legion; on the left wing, commanded by Mark Antony, the ninth, which had suffered very severely in the fights round Dyrrhachium, and to which he accordingly joined the eighth legion, giving each instructions to support the other. The centre was placed under the command of Caluinus. Caesar himself took up his position in the right wing, thus confronting Pompey. The greater part, if not the whole, of his cavalry was on the right also. When he came in sight of the enemy and observed their dispositions, Caesar at once divined his adversary's plan. He rapidly detached one cohort from the third line of each of his legions to form a 'fourth line' or reserve, and placed them, fronting sideways, on his right wing, opposite to the enemy's cavalry, but

(c. 75) mentions the number left to guard the tents as 2,000 of the oldest soldiers (*τοὺς πάνυ γέροντας*).

[1] The statement of Lucan (326 n.) and Appian that Caesar ordered the camp to be dismantled is rightly traversed by Mr B. Perrin and Col. Stoffel (vol. II. pp. 20, 247). The former rejects it altogether as a rhetorical invention 'in a fictitious speech attributed to Caesar by a sensational poet.' The latter supposes it to be based on a real order of Caesar, who, for the sake of expedition, had the gates of the camp enlarged and breaches made in the *uallum*, these defences being subsequently repaired by the cohorts left in garrison. Against this view Mr Perrin's observation (l.c. p. 326), that 'it would have taken more time to demolish the walls of a Roman camp than for its occupants to march out of the ordinary gates and form in order of battle outside,' has weight. And it is clear from Caesar's words, 'cum iam esset agmen in portis,' that the arrangements for marching out had already been made. For a way in which the story might have originated see note on 331.

concealed from their sight[1]. He gave them the necessary instructions, and told them that on their valour depended the fortunes of the day. At the same time he warned the third line and the army generally not to engage the enemy until he hoisted the scarlet flag[2]. In accordance with military custom he then addressed his army in a brief harangue[3]. He reminded them of his constant care for their welfare, and, recapitulating all the offers that he had made to his adversaries, he appealed to them to say if he had not made every effort in the cause of peace. 'I,' he concluded, 'have never desired to waste my soldiers' blood or to rob our country of either of its armies.' For answer rose a loud and vehement cry for battle, and Caesar bade the trumpet sound[4]. At this moment occurred an incident which throws a vivid light on the ardour of the Caesarians and their devotion to their leader. As Caesar passed along the lines, Gaius Crastinus, an *euocatus*, formerly an officer in the tenth legion and one of his most gallant soldiers, stepped from the ranks and addressed those near him. 'Comrades in my former company,' he said, 'follow me and do the duty ye have promised to your general. But one fight more, and he will regain his rank and we our liberty.' Caesar turned to him. 'What are our prospects, friend Cras-

[1] See besides Caesar (89. 4, 93. 5). Frontinus l.c. 'sex deinde cohortes in subsidio retinuit ad res subitas, sed dextro latere *conuersas in obliquum*, unde equitatum hostium expectabat' (cf. *obliquas* Lucan 522); Plutarch, *Pomp.* 69 *μετεπέμψατο σπείρας ἓξ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων καὶ κατέστησεν ὄπισθεν τοῦ δεκάτου κελεύσας ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἀδήλους τοῖς πολεμίοις ὄντας.*

[2] 'uexillo' Caes. c. 89. 5. Plutarch *Pomp.* 68 also mentions the *φοινικοῦν χιτῶνα*, but makes it exhibited before the Caesarians left the camp. Dr Gow suggests that it was used to give the signal to the reserve.

[3] See Caesar c. 90. Pompey would address his troops at the same time; but we have no authentic report of what he said, cf. above, p. x, n. 2.

[4] The signal would be taken up by the other military instruments, cf. Lucan 475 sqq., and Caesar c. 92. 4 'signa undique concinerent.'

tinus?,' he said. 'A brilliant victory, general,' returned the soldier. 'Today I will make you thank me living or dead.' He then sprang forward from the right wing and was immediately followed by about 120 volunteers, picked soldiers of the first century[1]. A roar of sound went up from all the military instruments, and with a loud shout the Caesarians charged.

In a pitched battle it was usual for both armies to meet at a run. But today Pompey on the advice, as was said, of Gaius Valerius Triarius, departed from this practice and ordered his men to await the enemy's onset, hoping that they would be exhausted before they closed[2]. When Caesar's veterans observed that their enemy did not stir, they halted halfway of their own accord; and there ensued the pause of which Lucan has made such dexterous use[3]. After a brief rest, they renewed the charge, hurled their *pila* and straightway drew their swords. The Pompeians stood their ground. Theirs was not indeed that fierce spirit of which the reluctant poet sings, that on the side of Caesar every blade was hot and deadly, that through arms, through bodies, struck the blows of his unconquerable soldiery[4]. But their resistance, if somewhat sluggish, was obstinate; and their numbers told. Meanwhile, the bowmen, who had as yet no mark to aim at, adopting a device which has proved effective in more modern times, shot clouds of arrows into the air, which, as they fell, caused much annoyance to the Caesarian ranks[5].

The legionaries had hardly closed, when Pompey gave

[1] The account of Crastinus is from Caesar, Plutarch and Appian.

[2] For his reasons and for Caesar's criticisms see Caesar, c. 92. Modern military experts—Napoleon with others—side with Caesar.

[3] 460 sqq.

[4] 496 sqq.

[5] This seems to be the meaning of Lucan's words, 514 sqq. Dio Cassius' statement that the light-armed began the battle is worth no more than the rest of his narrative, and plainly disagrees with Lucan's account, not the contrary, as Dr Hosius (*praefatio*, p. xxi) and others suppose.

the sign for his cavalry to move, and from the left wing a dense mass of over six thousand projected itself upon the thousand horsemen of Caesar. The weight of the attack was irresistible, and the Caesarians gradually fell back. The hostile cavalry, their first object accomplished, spread out in looser formation, and rode in squadrons, to take the defenceless legionaries in flank and rear[1]. The whole force of slingers and bowmen followed them. That instant Caesar gave the signal to his reserves; and six cohorts, with weapons levelled at their enemies' faces, furiously charged the advancing horse[2]. The effect of this apparition was instantaneous. The horsemen hardly waited to be attacked, but fled in ludicrous panic to the tops of the adjacent hills. The light-armed troops were now without protection and were slaughtered to a man[3]. For Caesar's clemency did not extend to foreigners.

An effort might yet have restored the day. For the ranks of the Pompeian legionaries were still unbroken, and their numbers still in a great preponderance. But Pompey could not make it. He had staked everything on a single throw, and his spirit was crushed. At once he rode from the field. He entered the camp by the praetorian gate, and in a loud voice, for all to hear, he called to the centurions there on watch, 'Guard and defend the camp strenuously if a calamity should occur. I go round to the other gates to make every

[1] Cf. Lucan 509—523, and Caesar l.c. on 509.

[2] To this movement the celebrated order to "strike at their faces" (Florus l.c. on 319) seems specially to refer. It is expressly assigned to it by Plutarch *Caes.* 45, *Pomp.* 71, and Appian c. 78, cf. Long *Hist.* v. p. 207 n.

[3] By Caesar's cavalry and auxiliaries, it would appear, the six cohorts having other work in hand. It is quite clear that Caesar's famous order *parce ciuibus* (Florus l.c. on 319, Suet. *Iul.* 75 'acie Pharsalica proclamauit ut parceretur ciuibus,' Polyaen. *Strat.* 8. 23, 29 *φείδεσθε τῶν πολιτῶν* (so we should read), Appian c. 80 *ἀψαυστεῖν τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν*) did not apply to the light-armed. Compare the somewhat elaborate instructions which Appian inserts in Caesar's speech, l.c., *on 325*.

point sure.' He then shut himself up in his general's quarters, where he awaited in silence the issue, of which he now despaired[1].

Meanwhile, the six cohorts in their victorious charge closed round the left wing of the Pompeians and attacked them in the rear. These still resisted, when Caesar ordered his third line, which had as yet taken no part in the battle, to advance. The wearied Pompeians could not withstand this fresh onslaught, and their whole line broke in confusion. Hotly pursued by Caesar, they fled into the camp; but even here they were allowed no rest. Though it was now midday, and his troops were distressed with the excessive heat, Caesar urged them to snatch the favour of Fortune and to assault the camp. Their indefatigable devotion responded to the call. The refugees from the battle, cowed and exhausted, and for the most part without arms or ensigns, thought only of further flight. But the cohorts left in garrison made strenuous, and the Thracians and other barbarian auxiliaries, most gallant resistance. Overwhelmed with missiles, they at last gave way, the rampart was carried, and the whole population of the camp, the centurions and the military tribunes leading, fled helter skelter to the top of the neighbouring heights. With the bitter cry 'The camp also![2]' their general himself, stripping off the last vestiges of an imperator[3], mounted a horse, dashed out of the decuman gate[4], and, with only four companions, galloped at full speed to Larisa. Nor did he stay here[5]; but, riding all

[1] His biographer (c. 72) compares him to the retreating Ajax in *Il.* 11. 544 sq. A more appropriate comparison would be to the Ajax of Sophocles, who sat distraught and speechless in his tent when the divine frenzy had wrecked his plans.

[2] *οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολήν;* Plutarch *Pomp.* 72, *Caes.* 45, and similarly Appian c. 81.

[3] 'detractis insignibus imperatoriis' Caes. c. 96. 3, *ἀπεδύσατο...τὴν ἐναγώνιον καὶ στρατηγικὴν ἐσθῆτα* Plut. *Caes.* 45.

[4] At the back of the camp, opposite the praetorian gate.

[5] Caesar, '*neque ibi constitit* sed eadem celeritate paucos suos ex

night, with a small following of thirty horsemen who had fled to the same place, he pursued his flight through the vale of Tempe, till at last he reached the coast and, taking ship in a corn transport for Lesbos, put the sea between himself and Pharsalia. All the way, we are told, he bewailed the great miscalculation, and his almost treacherous desertion by the very troops on whom he had leaned for victory[1].

The spectacle which met the eyes of Caesar and his astonished soldiers upon their entrance was such as had never been seen before in a Roman camp. There were leafy arbours for dining in, tents floored with fresh cut turf, others screened with ivy to protect them from the sun, or wreathed with branches of bay, vast quantities of silver plate set out with other preparations for the feast that was to celebrate the Pompeian victory, and much besides that told of aristocratic luxury and the spirit that precedes a fall[2]. Caesar has recorded his own feelings of not unnatural indignation. 'Such were the men' he writes 'who charged with self-indulgence Caesar's most wretched and long-suffering army, which had always been in want of everything for necessary use.' There were darker features in the scene; and the sight of so many of his countrymen dead and dying around him recalled to him the fate which would have followed upon his own defeat. 'They would have it so,' he

fuga nactus nocturno itinere non intermisso comitatu equitum xxx ad mare peruenit' 96. 4, and Plutarch *Pomp.* 73 παραμειψάμενος δὲ Λάρισαν, lend no support to Lucan's highly coloured picture of the fidelity of Larisa. It must not however be supposed to be a pure invention of the poet's. The agreement of Valerius Maximus (l.c. 712 n.), even to verbal concurrence, and in the main of Dio (42. 2), indicates a common source.

[1] Caesar l.c. sup. Plutarch, *Pomp.* 73, adds a number of interesting personal details about the flight. Lucan's brilliant analysis of the fugitive's feelings deserves to be mentioned (VIII 1 sqq.). In VII, his hero once off the scene, the poet parts company with history and devotes himself to the congenial tasks of slandering Caesar and revelling, like a ghoul, among the spectres and carcases of the slain.

[2] *761 n.*

cried. 'For all his achievements, Gaius Caesar would have been condemned if he had not appealed to his army[1].'

It is no small tribute to the genius of Caesar for command that he could prevail upon his men to leave the spoils so temptingly spread before them, and, after a brief repast[2], to commence the works necessary for cutting off the retreating enemy. The Pompeians did not wait for the circumvallation to be completed. The height on which they had taken refuge was destitute of water. They accordingly abandoned this untenable position and retreated along the hills towards Larisa. Caesar divided his forces. Part he left in Pompey's camp, part he sent back to his own; with the four legions remaining he followed the fugitives by a different and easier route for a distance of six Roman miles. Here he drew up in order of battle. When the Pompeians found their retreat was intercepted, they took up a position on a hill at whose base a river flowed[3]. The day had been spent in heavy and incessant toil, and the night was close at hand. But the energy of Caesar and the obedience of his soldiers were inexhaustible. He at once gave orders for the construction of a work which would cut off the hill from the stream, and prevent the Pompeians from watering in the night. No sooner was it finished than the enemy began to treat for a surrender, and the capitulation was completed on the following morning.

At break of day Caesar ordered all who had taken refuge on the hill to come down into the plain, and to throw their arms upon the ground. They obeyed without a murmur, and, prostrating themselves upon the earth with outstretched palms

[1] Suetonius *Iul.* 30 gives the actual words of Caesar as reported by Asinius Pollio, 'hoc uoluerunt. tantis rebus gestis Gaius Caesar condemnatus essem nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem,' cf. Plut. *Caes.* 46.

[2] This is the 'banquet' which Lucan has transferred to the following day (792 n.).

[3] This river was identified by Leake and others with the Onchestus, which flows past Scotussa into the L. Boebeis. Col. Stoffel maintains *that it is the Enipeus;* but see the topographical note.

and tears in their eyes, they begged their lives of the conqueror. In some reassuring words Caesar bade them rise, and, after a brief address in which he referred to his own clemency the more effectually to remove their fear, he spared the lives of all, and gave instructions to his own troops that no one of them was to be harmed or his property touched.

Thus ended the battle of Pharsalia. The loss of the victors was small. Of the rank and file only 200 fell[1], but of the centurions as many as 30, a proof how gallantly they exposed themselves. Amongst those killed was the heroic Crastinus, who had fallen from a sword-thrust in the face at the very beginning of the engagement[2]. He had kept his promise to his commander, as Caesar gratefully records. Search was made for his corpse amongst the slain. It was invested with military decorations and interred apart from the rest[3]. Of the Pompeians 15,000 fell, while 24,000 surrendered, and a great many made good their escape into the towns in the neighbourhood[4]. Amongst the killed were ten senators and forty equites, one of the former being Domitius Ahenobarbus, who was cut down by the cavalry under the command of Mark Antony when flying from the camp[5]. These heavy losses were all sustained in the battle, the storming of the camp, and the pursuit: for

[1] According to Appian (c. 82): some authorities said 1,200, which would remove the disproportionate loss of officers upon which Caesar remarks.

[2] 'Gladio in os aduersum coniecto,' Caes., *ὑποστάς τις ὠθεῖ διὰ τοῦ στόματος τὸ ξίφος ὥστε τὴν αἰχμὴν ἀνασχεῖν κατὰ τὸ ἰνίον* (the nape of the neck) Plut. *Pomp.* 71, cf. *Caes.* 44.

[3] See Appian c. 82 fin. *ἔξω τοῦ πολυανδρίου*, 'outside the general burying-place.' These details are not mentioned by Caesar.

[4] This is Caesar's statement. Asinius Pollio, who served under Caesar in the battle, put the Pompeian loss as 6000, according to Plut. *Pomp.* 72 and Appian c. 82. These statements may be reconciled (as they are by Col. Stoffel) by supposing that 6,000 was the loss of the legionaries. Some raised the number to 25,000, which Appian says is an exaggeration.

[5] *599 n.*

our authorities are agreed that no single Roman was killed except with arms in his hands[1]. The bodies of the Caesarians were religiously interred by their comrades. But the Pompeian dead were left on the field[2]. No military or political considerations required their interment, and there was no moral obligation upon an ancient commander to give sepulture to a fallen foe; and though it may have shocked a Roman patriot to think that so many of his countrymen were left as prey to the wolves and vultures of Thessaly, the Civil wars had long passed out of the region of sentiment[3].

Of the historical importance of Pharsalia it is unnecessary to speak at length. It has not indeed the thrilling interest of those conflicts in which the victors have been in serious jeopardy. In the harbour of Alexandria the life of Caesar was in far greater peril; at Munda his fortunes hung upon a thread. But though

[1] Excluding Dio Cassius, who says that Caesar executed all the senators and equites, whose lives he had spared on previous occasions (41. 62). Merivale quotes against him, besides Caesar *B. C.* 3. 98, Cicero *pro Marcello* c. 3, *pro Ligario* c. 6 'quis non eam uictoriam probet in qua occiderit *nemo nisi armatus?*' Velleius 2. 52, Suet. *Iul.* 75, Florus 4. 2. 90 (speaking generally). Caesar might certainly have been excused for some severity after the insolent ferocity of Labienus (*B. C.* 3. 71. 4), but there is no reason for doubting the truth of his own statement.

[2] The fact is given by Lucan (788 sqq.) who finds in it an excellent handle for declamation against Caesar.

[3] On the reasons for Caesar's different conduct after the defeat of the Helvetii (*B. G.* 1. 26), see Col. Stoffel (vol. II. p. 251). Hannibal's 'burying of the consul' (Lucan 800) after Cannae if really a fact (Livy 22. 52. 6 does not commit himself, 'consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque *quidam auctores* sunt') was a tribute which, as it is said, he paid or desired to pay to the other gallant foes, Gracchus (Livy 25. 17. 4), Flaminius (*ib.* 22. 7. 5, a passage worth quoting as a comment upon Lucan's attack on Caesar: 'Hannibal—*segregata ex hostium coaceruatorum cumulis corpora suorum* cum *sepeliri iussisset*, Flamini quoque corpus funeris causā magna cum cura inquisitum non inuenit'). And at Cannae Silius Italicus, 10. 521 sqq., mentions only the burning of the Carthaginian dead and of the Roman Consul.

Caesar might have fallen, Caesarism had triumphed. For Pharsalia, revealing the political impotence of the oligarchy as clearly as it revealed the military inferiority of their only commander, had written in unmistakable characters upon the walls of the tottering Roman commonwealth the message of fate,

οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω.

Pharsalia, though excluded from the catalogue of Sir Edward Creasy, may fairly claim to have witnessed one of the decisive battles of the world. It has a better title to this honour than the Macedonian flats with which, in despite of geography, it became inseparably associated in the popular imagination, where the leaders of the conscientious assassins fell before the remorseless eagles of the Avenger; and one at least as good as the Ambracian roadstead, where the conflict of the mad ambition of Antony and the cold ambition of Octavian was grafted on the eternal antagonism of East and West.

APPENDIX.

ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE BATTLEFIELD OF PHARSALIA[1].

THE ancient writers who refer to the battle do not in general use any more definite expressions than *proelium in Pharsalicis campis*, *acies Pharsalica*, or even *proelium in Thessalia factum*, Caes. *B. C.* 3. 100. 3, 111. 3, Cic. *Phil.* 2. 59, 75, *de diuin.* 2. 114. Strabo however, 17. p. 796, the author of the *bellum Alexandrinum* 48. 1, Frontinus *Strat.* 2. 3. 22, and Orosius 6. 15 say it took place at Old Pharsalus (*Palaepharsalus*). The site of Old Pharsalus has not yet been determined, but it appears from the

[1] Compare Mr Perrin's account in American Journal of Philology, vol. VI. pp. 178 sqq.

words of Strabo 9. p. 431 to have been at some distance from the new town (now *Fersala*) which is usually meant where no epithet is added[1].

The last historian of the Civil Wars, Col. Stoffel, fixes the scene of the battle at the north-east angle of the Pharsalian plain. The river Enipeus, now called the *Little Tchinarli*, which flows nearly due north till it reaches the pass of *Velestino*, there turns through a right angle and pursues a westerly course, gradually bending to the north as it gets further into the plain. On the western side of the mountain (M. *Karadja Ahmet*) whose base it washes as it makes the turn, Col. Stoffel places the camp and forts (castella) of Pompey, and supposes the battle to have been fought about two miles to the west on the left, or south, bank of the river. Caesar's camp he places about two miles further to the west in the space between the river and a rocky point called *Krindir*, a projection from M. *Karadagh* or the hill immediately to the west of Pharsalus[2]. Col. Stoffel's selection of the arrière-plaine of Pharsalus, as the only site which satisfies the military conditions[3], rests on three identifications.

I. The identification of the *Enipeus* of this battle as the *Little Tchinarli.* This is now generally accepted and appears to be correct, though, as may be seen from Long's *History*, v. p. 214 (compare Mr Perrin's article, pp. 175 sq.), there was some confusion in the use of the name by ancient authors. Thus Lucan speaking of it says, VI 373, '*numquam*que *celer nisi mixtus* Enipeus,' which seems to be a pointed contradiction of

[1] The name 'battle of Pharsalos,' which Mommsen and others employ, is accordingly to be avoided.

[2] This position is that apparently assigned by Appian c. 75 [ὁ Πομπήιος] *παρέτασσε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ Φαρσάλου τε πόλεως καὶ Ἐνιπέως ποταμοῦ.* Appian appears to have confused Old with New Pharsalus.

[3] 'Pompée...occupa des hauteurs qui s'abaissaient en avant de son front sous forme de longs versants, sur la déclivité desquels il pouvait déployer son armée en bataille, de manière à se réserver tout l'avantage en cas d'attaque,' vol. II. p. 242.

Ovid *Met.* 1. 579 'irrequietus Enipeus.' Valerius Flaccus agrees with Lucan 1. 357 '*segnior* Apidani uires ubi sentit *Enipeus*.'

II. The 'riuus quidam impeditis ripis' of Caesar, on which Pompey's right wing rested, is identified with the Enipeus. This is much more doubtful. It is true that the Enipeus has difficult banks; and that Frontinus as well as Lucan says distinctly that Pompey's right wing rested on that river; and that Appian also (l. c.) mentions the Enipeus in connexion with the battle. But Merivale well says that to speak of the principal river of Thessaliotis as 'riuus quidam' would be "against Caesar's[1] and all correct usage." To which Col. Stoffel can only reply that Caesar gives the name of *riuus* to the Enipeus because 'on the day of the battle this river had no more water in it than a brook,' thus unconsciously contradicting two out of the three authorities on whom the identification is based[2].

III. But what are we to say of the third identification? The Pompeians made their last stand on a mountain beneath which flowed a river ('hunc montem *flumen* subluebat,' Caesar c. 97. 4), and Col. Stoffel supposes this mountain to be the *eastern* height of M. Karadja Ahmet, and this 'river' to be the same Enipeus which was a 'brook' in c. 88, and whose course up the valley Caesar, according to Col. Stoffel's map, had been following all the time, being never half a mile away from its banks!

As Col. Stoffel's theory must be rejected, and as strategical reasons imperatively forbid the assumption of a site in the open, south of the *Little Tchinarli*, it only remains to suppose that Pompey's camp was somewhere on the range of hills to the North of the plain, and that the battle was thus fought between them and the river. If I do not mistake, these hills were not examined for a site by Col. Stoffel, who speaks only of the southern range, p. 242. Such a position would agree well with the facts that Pompey entered the camp from the field of battle

[1] Cf. e.g. *B. C.* 3. 49. 3 'omnia *flumina* et omnes *riuos* qui ad mare pertinebant,' cf. *ib.* 37. 1, 3, 4.

[2] Frontinus and Lucan; see above, p. xxiv, n. 3.

by the 'praetorian,' or front gate, and left it for Larisa by the 'decuman,' or rear gate. The stream in question may have been a small tributary of the Enipeus, if we reject the view that it was that river itself[1]. The position would be further determined if we could with Leake identify the river below the height where the Pompeians made their last stand, which was six miles from the camp of Pompey, as the Onochonus (or Onchestus) not far from Scotussa[2].

[1] In any case the Enipeus was at no great distance, and would be naturally mentioned in connexion with the battle.

[2] Nothing can be inferred from the unexecuted intention of Caesar to move on Scotussa, about 5½ miles due N. of M. *Karadja Ahmet*, which Plutarch *Caes.* 43 fin. records, nor from Lucan's epithet *aduerso* in *v.* 214.

M. ANNAEI LVCANI

DE BELLO CIVILI

LIBER SEPTIMVS.

The sun is loth to rise upon Pharsalia.

Segnior Oceano quam lex aeterna uocabat
luctificus Titan numquam magis aethera contra
egit equos cursumque polo rapiente retorsit;
defectusque pati uoluit raptaeque labores
lucis, et attraxit nubes, non pabula flammis,
sed ne Thessalico purus luceret in orbe.

Pompey's dream. Reflections upon it.

At nox, felicis Magno pars ultima uitae,
sollicitos uana decepit imagine somnos.
nam Pompeiani uisus sibi sede theatri
innumeram effigiem Romanae cernere plebis,
adtollique suum laetis ad sidera nomen
uocibus, et plausu cuneos certare sonantes:
qualis erat populi facies clamorque fauentis,
olim cum iuuenis primique aetate triumphi,
post domitas gentes quas torrens ambit Hiberus,

et quaecumque fugax Sertorius inpulit arma,
Vespere pacato, pura uenerabilis aeque
quam currus ornante toga, plaudente senatu,
sedit adhuc Romanus eques: seu fine bonorum
anxia uenturis ad tempora laeta refugit,
siue per ambages solitas contraria uisis
uaticinata quies magni tulit omina planctus,
seu uetito patrias ultra tibi cernere sedes
sic Romam Fortuna dedit. ne rumpite somnos,
castrorum uigiles; nullas tuba uerberet aures.
crastina dira quies et imagine maesta diurna
undique funestas acies feret, undique bellum:
unde pares somnos populis noctemque beatam?
o felix, si te uel sic tua Roma uideret.
donassent utinam superi patriaeque tibique
unum, Magne, diem, quo fati certus uterque
extremum tanti fructum raperetis amoris.
tu uelut Ausonia uadis moriturus in urbe:
illa, rati semper de te sibi conscia uoti,
hoc scelus haud umquam fatis haerere putauit,
sic se dilecti tumulum quoque perdere Magni.
te mixto flesset luctu iuuenisque senexque
iniussusque puer; lacerasset crine soluto
pectora femineum, ceu Bruti funere, uolgus.
nunc quoque, tela licet paueant uictoris iniqui,
nuntiet ipse licet Caesar tua funera, flebunt;
sed dum tura ferunt, dum laurea serta Tonanti.
o miseri, quorum gemitus edere dolorem,
qui te non pleno pariter planxere theatro.

The Pompeians demand battle. Cicero is their spokesman.

Vicerat astra iubar, cum mixto murmure turba
castrorum fremuit fatisque trahentibus orbem

signa petit pugnae. miseri pars maxima uolgi
non totum uisura diem, tentoria circum
ipsa ducis queritur, magnoque accensa tumultu
mortis uicinae properantis admouet horas.
dira subit rabies; sua quisque ac publica fata
praecipitare cupit: segnis pauidusque uocatur
ac nimium patiens soceri Pompeius, et orbis
indulgens regno, qui tot simul undique gentes
iuris habere sui uellet pacemque timeret.
nec non et reges populique queruntur Eoi
bella trahi patriaque procul tellure teneri.
hoc placet, o superi, cum uobis uertere cuncta
propositum, nostris erroribus addere crimen.
cladibus irruimus nocituraque poscimus arma:
in Pompeianis uotum est Pharsalia castris.
cunctorum uoces Romani maximus auctor
Tullius eloquii, cuius sub iure togaque
pacificas saeuus tremuit Catilina securis,
pertulit, iratus bellis, cum rostra forumque
optaret passus tam longa silentia miles.
addidit inualidae robur facundia causae.

The speech of Cicero.

'Hoc pro tot meritis solum te, Magne, precatur
uti se Fortuna uelis; proceresque tuorum
castrorum regesque tui cum supplice mundo
adfusi uinci socerum patiare rogamus.
humani generis tam longo tempore bellum
Caesar erit? merito Pompeium uincere lente
gentibus indignum est a transcurrente subactis.
quo tibi feruor abit aut quo fiducia fati?
de superis, ingrate, times causamque senatus
credere dis dubitas? ipsae tua signa reuellent

prosilientque acies. pudeat uicisse coactum.
si duce te iusso, si nobis bella geruntur,
sit iuris, quocumque uelint, concurrere campo.
quid mundi gladios a sanguine Caesaris arces?
uibrant tela manus; uix signa morantia quisquam
exspectat: propera, ne te tua classica linquant.
scire senatus auet, miles te, Magne, sequatur,
an comes.'

The reply of Pompey.

ingemuit rector, sensitque deorum
esse dolos et fata suae contraria menti.
'Si placet hoc' inquit 'cunctis, si milite Magno,
non duce tempus eget, nil ultra fata morabor.
inuoluat populos una Fortuna ruina,
sitque hominum magnae lux ista nouissima parti.
testor, Roma, tamen Magnum, quo cuncta perirent,
accepisse diem. potuit tibi uolnere nullo
stare labor belli; potuit sine caede subactum
captiuumque ducem uiolatae tradere paci.
quis furor, o caeci, scelerum? ciuilia bella
gesturi metuunt ne non cum sanguine uincant?
abstulimus terras, exclusimus aequore toto,
ad praematuras segetum ieiuna rapinas
agmina compulimus, uotumque effecimus hosti
ut mallet sterni gladiis mortesque suorum
permiscere meis. belli pars magna peracta est
his, quibus effectum est ne pugnam tiro paueret;
si modo uirtutis stimulis iraeque calore
signa petunt. multos in summa pericula misit
uenturi timor ipse mali. fortissimus ille est,
qui, promptus metuenda pati si comminus instent,
et differre potest. placet haec tam prospera rerum

tradere fortunae, gladio permittere mundi
discrimen: pugnare ducem quam uincere malunt.
res mihi Romanas dederas, Fortuna, regendas:
accipe maiores et caeco in Marte tuere.
Pompei nec crimen erit nec gloria bellum.
uincis apud superos uotis me, Caesar, iniquis:
pugnatur. quantum scelerum quantumque malorum
in populos lux ista feret! quot regna iacebunt!
sanguine Romano quam turbidus ibit Enipeus!
prima uelim caput hoc funesti lancea belli,
si sine momento rerum partisque ruina
casurum est, feriat; neque enim uictoria Magno
laetior. aut populis inuisum hac clade peracta
aut hodie Pompeius erit miserabile nomen.
omne malum uicti, quod sors feret ultima rerum,
omne nefas uictoris erit.'

The Pompeians make ready for battle.

sic fatur, et arma
permittit populis frenosque furentibus ira
laxat et ut uictus uiolento nauita Coro
dat regimen uentis, ignauumque arte relicta
puppis onus trahitur. trepido confusa tumultu
castra fremunt, animique truces sua pectora pulsant
ictibus incertis. multorum pallor in ore
mortis uenturaest faciesque simillima fato.
aduenisse diem qui fatum rebus in aeuum
conderet humanis, et quaeri, Roma quid esset,
illo Marte, palam est. sua quisque pericula nescit
attonitus maiore metu. quis litora ponto
obruta, quis summis cernens in montibus aequor,
aetheraque in terras deiecto sole cadentem,
tot rerum finem, timeat sibi? non uacat ullos

pro se ferre metus: urbi Magnoque timetur.
nec gladiis habuere fidem, nisi cautibus asper
exarsit mucro; tunc omnis lancea saxo
corrigitur; tendunt neruis melioribus arcus;
cura fuit lectis pharetras inplere sagittis.
auget eques stimulos frenorumque aptat habenas.
si liceat superis hominum conferre labores,
non aliter Phlegra rabidos tollente Gigantas
Martius incaluit Siculis incudibus ensis,
et rubuit flammis iterum Neptunia cuspis,
spiculaque extenso Paean Pythone recoxit,
Pallas Gorgoneos diffudit in aegida crines,
Pallenaea Ioui mutauit fulmina Cyclops.

The signs of disaster to the Pompeians and of dire victory to the Caesarians.

Non tamen abstinuit uenturos prodere casus
per uarias Fortuna notas. nam Thessala rura
cum peterent, totus uenientibus obstitit aether,
aduersasque faces inmensoque igne columnas
et trabibus mixtis auidos typhonas aquarum
detulit, atque oculos ingesto fulgure clausit;
excussit cristas galeis, capulosque solutis
perfudit gladiis, ereptaque pila liquauit,
aethereoque nocens fumauit sulphure ferrum.
nec non innumero cooperta examine signa
uixque reuolsa solo, maiori pondere pressum
signiferi mersere caput rorantia fletu,
usque ad Thessaliam Romana et publica signa.
admotus superis discussa fugit ab ara
taurus et Emathios praeceps se iecit in agros;

inque oculis hominum fregerunt fulmina nubes 154

nullaque funestis inuenta est uictima sacris.
at tu, quos scelerum superos, quas rite uocasti
Eumenidas, Caesar? Stygii quae numina regni,
infernumque Nefas, et mersos nocte Furores?
impia tam saeue gesturus bella litasti.
iam (dubium monstrisne deum nimione pauori
crediderint) multis concurrere uisus Olympo
Pindus, et abruptis mergi conuallibus Haemus,
edere nocturnas belli Pharsalia uoces,
ire per Ossaeam rapidus Boebeida sanguis;
inque uicem uoltus tenebris mirantur opertos
et pallere diem galeisque incumbere noctem,
defunctosque ululare patres et sanguinis umbras
ante oculos uolitare suos. dementibus unum
hoc solamen erat quod uoti turba nefandi
conscia, quae patrum iugulos, quae pectora fratrum
sperabat, gaudet monstris mentisque tumultu,
atque omen scelerum subitos putat esse furores.

Of the great conflict to the rest of the world.

Quid mirum populos, quos lux extrema manebat,
lymphato trepidasse metu, praesaga malorum
si data mens homini est? Tyriis qui Gadibus hospes
adiacet Armeniumque bibit Romanus Araxen,
sub quocumque die, quocumque est sidere mundi,
maeret et ignorat causas animumque dolentem
corripit, Emathiis quid perdat nescius aruis.
Euganeo, si uera fides memorantibus, augur
colle sedens, Aponus terris ubi fumifer exit
atque Antenorei dispergitur unda Timaui,
'Venit summa dies, geritur res maxima;' dixit
'inpia concurrunt Pompei et Caesaris arma'.
seu *tonitrus ac tela* Iouis praesaga notauit,

aethera seu totum discordi obsistere caelo
perspexitque polos, seu numen in aethere maestum
solis in obscuro pugnam pallore notauit.
dissimilem certe cunctis quos explicat egit
Thessalicum Natura diem. si cuncta perito
augure mens hominum caeli noua signa notasset,
spectari toto potuit Pharsalia mundo.
o summos hominum, quorum Fortuna per orbem
signa dedit, quorum fatis caelum omne uacauit.
haec et apud seras gentes populosque nepotum,
siue sua tantum uenient in saecula fama,
siue aliquid magnis nostri quoque cura laboris
nominibus prodesse potest, cum bella legentur,
spesque metusque simul perituraque uota mouebunt,
attonitique omnes ueluti uenientia fata,
non transmissa, legent et adhuc tibi, Magne, fauebunt.

Pompey's order of battle.

Miles, ut aduerso Phoebi radiatus ab ictu
descendens totos perfudit lumine colles,
non temere immissus campis stetit ordine certo,
infelix acies. cornus tibi cura sinistri,
Lentule, cum prima, quae tum fuit optima bello,
et quarta legione datur. tibi, numine pugnax
aduerso Domiti, dextri frons tradita Martis.
at medii robur belli fortissima densant
agmina, quae Cilicum terris deducta tenebat
Scipio, miles in hoc, Libyco dux primus in orbe.
at iuxta fluuios et stagna undantis Enipei
Cappadocum montana cohors et largus habenae
Ponticus ibat eques. sicci sed plurima campi
tetrarchae regesque tenent magnique tyranni,
atque omnis Latio quae seruit purpura ferro.

illuc et Libye Numidas et Creta Cydonas
misit: Ituraeis cursus fuit inde sagittis:
inde, truces Galli, solitum prodistis in hostem:
illic pugnaces commouit Hiberia caetras.
eripe uictori gentes, et sanguine mundi
fuso, Magne, semel totos consume triumphos.

Caesar discovers that the hour has come.

Illo forte die Caesar statione relicta
ad segetum raptus moturus signa, repente
conspicit in planos hostem descendere campos,
oblatumque uidet uotis sibi mille petitum
tempus, in extremos quo mitteret omnia casus.
aeger quippe morae flagransque cupidine regni
coeperat exiguo tractu ciuilia bella
ut lentum damnare nefas. discrimina postquam
aduentare ducum supremaque proelia uidit,
casuram *et* fati sensit nutare ruinam,
illa quoque in ferrum rabies promptissima paulum
languit, et casus audax spondere secundos
mens stetit in dubio, quam nec sua fata timere
nec Magni sperare sinunt. formidine mersa
prosilit hortando melior fiducia uolgo.

Caesar's address to his troops.

'O domitor mundi, rerum fortuna mearum,
miles, adest totiens optatae copia pugnae.
nil opus est uotis; iam fatum accersite ferro.
in manibus uestris, quantus sit Caesar, habetis.
haec est illa dies mihi quam Rubiconis ad undas
promissam memini, cuius spe mouimus arma,
in quam distulimus uetitos remeare triumphos;

haec eadem est, hodie quae pignora quaeque penates
reddat et emerito faciat uos Marte colonos.

haec fato quae teste probet, quis iustius arma
sumpserit: haec acies uictum factura nocentem est.
si pro me patriam ferro flammisque petistis,
nunc pugnate truces gladioque exsoluite culpam.
nulla manus belli mutato iudice pura est.
non mihi res agitur, sed uos, ut libera sitis
turba, precor, gentes ut ius habeatis in omnes.
ipse ego, priuatae cupidus me reddere uitae
plebeiaque toga modicum componere ciuem,
omnia dum uobis liceant, nihil esse recuso.
inuidia regnate mea. nec sanguine multo
spem mundi petitis: Graiis delecta iuuentus
gymnasiis aderit studioque ignaua palaestrae
et uix arma ferens, aut mixtae dissona turbae
barbaries, non illa tubas, non agmine moto
clamorem latura suum. ciuilia paucae
bella manus facient: pugnae pars magna leuabit
his orbem populis Romanumque obteret hostem.
ite per ignauas gentis famosaque regna,
et primo ferri motu prosternite mundum;
sitque palam quas tot duxit Pompeius in urbem
curribus unius gentes non esse triumphi.
Armeniosne mouet, Romana potentia cuius
sit ducis? aut emptum minimo uolt sanguine quisquam
barbarus Hesperiis Magnum praeponere rebus?
Romanos odere omnes dominosque grauantur;
quos nouere, magis. sed me Fortuna meorum
commisit manibus, quarum me Gallia testem
tot fecit bellis. cuius non militis ensem
agnoscam? caelumque tremens cum lancea transit,
dicere non fallar, quo sit uibrata lacerto.
quod si signa ducem numquam fallentia uestrum
conspicio faciesque truces oculosque minaces,

uicistis. uideor fluuios spectare cruoris
calcatosque simul reges sparsumque senatus
corpus et immensa populos in caede natantis.
sed mea fata moror, qui uos in tela furentis
uocibus his teneo. ueniam date bella trahenti:
spe trepido: haud umquam uidi tam magna daturos
tam prope me superos; camporum limite paruo
absumus a uotis: ego sum cui Marte peracto,
quae populi regesque tenent, donare licebit.
quone poli motu, quo caeli sidere uerso,
Thessalicae tantum, superi, permittitis orae?
aut merces hodie bellorum aut poena paratur.
Caesareas spectate cruces, spectate catenas,
et caput hoc positum rostris effusaque membra,
Saeptorumque nefas et clausi proelia Campi.
cum duce Sullano gerimus ciuilia bella.
uestri cura mouet: nam me secura manebit
sors quaesita manu; fodientem uiscera cernet
me mea qui nondum uicto respexerit hoste.
di, quorum curas abduxit ab aethere tellus
Romanusque labor, uincat quicumque necesse
non putat in uictos saeuum destringere ferrum,
quique suos ciues, quod signa aduersa tulerunt,
non credit fecisse nefas. Pompeius in arto
agmina uestra loco uetita uirtute moueri
cum tenuit, quanto satiauit sanguine ferrum!
uos tamen hoc oro, iuuenes, ne caedere quisquam
hostis terga uelit; ciuis, qui fugerit, esto.
sed dum tela micant, non uos pietatis imago
ulla nec aduersa conspecti fronte parentes
commoueant: uoltus gladio turbate uerendos,
siue quis infesto cognata in pectora ferro
ibit, seu nullum uiolabit uolnere pignus:

ignoti iugulum tamquam scelus inputet hostis.
sternite iam uallum fossasque inplete ruina,
exeat ut plenis acies non sparsa maniplis;
parcite ne castris: uallo tendetis in illo
unde acies peritura uenit.'

The Caesarians rush to arms.

uix cuncta locuto
Caesare quemque suum munus trahit, armaque raptim
sumpta Ceresque uiris. capiunt praesagia belli
calcatisque ruunt castris; stant ordine nullo,
arte ducis nulla; permittunt omnia fatis.
si totidem Magni soceros totidemque petentes
urbis regna suae funesto in Marte locasses,
non tam praecipiti ruerent in proelia cursu.

Pompey's feelings and speech to his men.

Vidit ut hostiles in rectum exire cateruas
Pompeius nullasque moras permittere bello,
sed superis placuisse diem, stat corde gelato
attonitus, tantoque duci sic arma timere
omen erat. premit inde metus totumque per agmen
sublimi praeuectus equo 'Quem flagitat' inquit
'uestra diem uirtus, finis ciuilibus armis
quem quaesistis, adest. totas effundite uires;
extremum ferri superest opus, unaque gentis
hora trahit. quisquis patriam carosque penates,
qui subolem ac thalamos desertaque pignora quaerit,
ense petat: medio posuit deus omnia campo.
causa iubet melior superos sperare secundos.
ipsi tela regent per uiscera Caesaris, ipsi
Romanas sancire uolent hoc sanguine leges.
si socero dare regna meo mundumque pararent,

praecipitare meam fatis potuere senectam.
non iratorum populis urbique deorum est
Pompeium seruare ducem. quae uincere possent,
omnia contulimus. subiere pericula clari
sponte uiri, sacraque antiquus imagine miles.
si Curios his fata darent reducesque Camillos
temporibus Deciosque caput fatale uouentis,
hinc starent. primo gentes Oriente coactae,
innumeraeque urbes, quantas in proelia numquam,
exciuere manus. toto simul utimur orbe.
quidquid signiferi comprensum limite caeli
sub Noton et Borean hominum sumus, arma mouemus.
nonne superfusis collectum cornibus hostem
in medium dabimus? paucas uictoria dextras
exigit, at plures tantum clamore cateruae
bella gerent. Caesar nostris non sufficit armis.
credite pendentes e summis moenibus urbis
crinibus effusis hortari in proelia matres.
credite grandaeuum uetitumque aetate senatum
arma sequi sacros pedibus prosternere canos,
atque ipsam domini metuentem occurrere Romam.
credite qui nunc est populus populumque futurum
permixtas adferre preces. haec libera nasci,
haec uolt turba mori. si quis post pignera tanta
Pompeio locus est, cum prole et coniuge supplex,
imperii salua si maiestate liceret,
uoluerer ante pedes. Magnus, nisi uincitis, exsul,
ludibrium soceri, uester pudor, ultima fata
deprecor ac turpes extremi cardinis annos,
ne discam seruire senex.' tam maesta locuti
uoce ducis flagrant animi Romanaque uirtus
erigitur; placuitque mori, si uera timeret.

Digression. *The havoc in the Roman empire which the impending conflict will make for all time.*

Ergo utrimque pari procurrunt agmina motu
irarum; metus hos regni, spes excitat illos.
hae facient dextrae, quidquid non expleat aetas
ulla nec humanum reparet genus, omnibus annis
ut uacet a ferro. gentes Mars iste futuras
obruet, et populos aeui uenientis in orbem
erepto natale feret. tunc omne Latinum
fabula nomen erit: Gabios Veiosque Coramque
Albanosque lares Laurentinosque penates
puluere uix tectae poterunt monstrare ruinae,
rus uacuum, quod non habitet, nisi nocte coacta,
inuitus questusque Numam iussisse senator.
non aetas haec carpsit edax monimentaque rerum
putria destituit: crimen ciuile uidemus
tot uacuas urbes. generis quo turba redacta est
humani? toto populi qui nascimur orbe,
nec muros inplere uiris nec possumus agros:
urbs nos una capit. uincto fossore coluntur
Hesperiae segetes; stat tectis putris auitis
in nullos ruitura domus; nulloque frequentem
ciue suo Romam sed mundi faece repletam
cladis eo dedimus, ne tanto in corpore bellum
iam possit ciuile geri. Pharsalia tanti
causa mali. cedant feralia nomina Cannae
et damnata diu Romanis Allia fastis.
tempora signauit leuiorum Roma malorum;
hunc uoluit nescire diem. pro tristia fata!
aera pestiferum tractu morbosque fluentis
insanamque famem permissasque ignibus urbes
moeniaque in praeceps laturos plena tremores

hi possent explere uiri, quos undique traxit
in miseram Fortuna necem, dum munera longi
explicat eripiens aeui, populosque ducesque
constituit campis, per quos tibi, Roma, ruenti
ostendat quam magna cadas. quo latius orbem
possedit, citius per prospera fata cucurrit.
omne tibi bellum gentes dedit omnibus annis:
te geminum Titan procedere uidit in axem:
haud multum terrae spatium restabat Eoae,
ut tibi nox, tibi tota dies, tibi curreret aether,
omniaque errantes stellae Romana uiderent.
sed retro tua fata tulit par omnibus annis
Emathiae funesta dies. hac luce cruenta
effectum ut Latios non horreat India fasces,
nec uetitos errare Dahas in moenia ducat
Sarmaticumque premat succinctus consul aratrum:
quod semper saeuas debet tibi Parthia poenas,
quod fugiens ciuile nefas redituraque numquam
libertas ultra Tigrim Rhenumque recessit,
ac totiens nobis iugulo quaesita uagatur,
Germanum Scythicumque bonum, nec respicit ultra
Ausoniam. uellem, populis incognita nostris
uolturis ut primum laeuo fundata uolatu
Romulus infami compleuit moenia luco,
usque ad Thessalicas seruisses, Roma, ruinas.
de Brutis, Fortuna, queror. quid tempora legum
egimus aut annos a consule nomen habentis?
felices Arabes Medique Eoaque tellus,
quam sub perpetuis tenuerunt fata tyrannis.
ex populis qui regna ferunt sors ultima nostra est,
quos seruire pudet. sunt nobis nulla profecto
numina: cum caeco rapiantur saecula casu,
mentimur regnare Iouem. spectabit ab alto

aethere Thessalicas, teneat cum fulmina, caedes?
scilicet ipse petet Pholoen, petet ignibus Oeten
immeritaeque nemus Rhodopes pinusque Mimantis:
Cassius hoc potius feriet caput? astra Thyestae
intulit, et subitis damnauit noctibus Argos:
tot similes fratrum gladios patrumque gerenti
Thessaliae dabit ille diem? mortalia nulli
sunt curata deo. cladis tamen huius habemus
uindictam, quantam terris dare numina fas est.
bella pares superis facient ciuilia diuos;
fulminibus manes radiisque ornabit et astris,
inque deum templis iurabit Roma per umbras.

The pause before the battle. It is broken by Crastinus hurling his lance. Missiles and swords. Lukewarmness of the Pompeians and ardour of the Caesarians.

Vt rapido cursu fati suprema morantem
consumpsere locum, parua tellure dirempti,
quo sua pila cadant, aut quam sibi fata minentur
inde manum, spectant; uultusque ac noscere tempus,
facturi quae monstra forent. uidere parentes
frontibus aduersis fraternaque comminus arma;
nec libuit mutare locum: tamen omnia torpor
pectora constrinxit, gelidusque in uiscera sanguis
percussa pietate coit, totaeque cohortes
pila parata diu tensis tenuere lacertis.
di tibi non mortem, quae cunctis poena paratur,
sed sensum post fata tuae dent, Crastine, morti,
cuius torta manu commisit lancea bellum
primaque Thessaliam Romano sanguine tinxit.
o praeceps rabies, cum Caesar tela teneret,
inuenta est prior ulla manus? tunc stridulus aer

elisus lituis conceptaque classica cornu,
tunc ausae dare signa tubae, tunc aethera tendit
extremique fragor conuexa inrumpit Olympi,
unde procul nubes, quo nulla tonitrua durant.
excepit resonis clamorem uallibus Haemus,
Peliacisque dedit rursus geminare cauernis;
Pindus agit fremitus, Pangaeaque saxa resultant,
Oetaeaeque gemunt rupes; uocesque furoris
expauere sui tota tellure relatas.
spargitur innumerum diuersis missile uotis:
uolnera pars optat, pars terrae figere tela
ac puras seruare manus. rapit omnia casus,
atque incerta facit quos uolt Fortuna nocentes.
tunc et Ituraei Medique Arabesque soluti,
arcu turba minax, nusquam rexere sagittas;
sed petitur solus qui campis inminet aer;
inde cadunt mortes; sceleris sed crimine nullo
externum maculant chalybem: stetit omne coactum
circa pila nefas. ferro subtexitur aether,
noxque super campos telis conserta pependit.
sed quota pars cladis iaculis ferroque uolanti
exacta est? odiis solus ciuilibus ensis
sufficit et dextras Romana in uiscera ducit.
Pompei densis acies stipata cateruis
iunxerat in seriem nexis umbonibus arma,
uixque habitura locum dextras ac tela mouendi
constiterat gladiosque suos compressa timebat.
praecipiti cursu uaesanum Caesaris agmen
in densos agitur cuneos perque arma, per hostem
quaerit iter. qua torta graues lorica catenas
opponit tutoque latet sub tegmine pectus,
hac quoque peruentum est ad uiscera, totque per arma
extremum est quod quisque ferit. ciuilia bella

una acies patitur, gerit altera: frigidus inde
stat gladius, calet omne nocens a Caesare ferrum.

Charge of the Pompeian horse routed by Caesar's reserve.

Nec Fortuna diu rerum tot pondera uertens
abstulit ingentis fato torrente ruinas.
ut primum toto diduxit cornua campo
Pompeianus eques bellique per ultima fudit,
sparsa per extremos leuis armatura maniplos
insequitur saeuasque manus inmittit in hostem;
illic quaeque suo miscet gens proelia telo;
Romanus cunctis petitur cruor; inde sagittae,
inde faces et saxa uolant, spatioque solutae
aeris et calido liquefactae pondere glandes. 513
cum Caesar, metuens ne frons sibi prima labaret 521
incursu, tenet obliquas post signa cohortes,
inque latus belli, qua se uagus hostis agebat,
inmittit subitum non motis cornibus agmen.
inmemores pugnae nulloque pudore timendi
praecipites fecere palam, ciuilia bella
non bene barbaricis umquam commissa cateruis.
ut primum sonipes transfixus pectora ferro
in caput effusi calcauit membra regentis,
omnis eques cessit campis, glomerataque nubes
in sua conuersis praeceps ruit agmina frenis.
perdidit inde modum caedes, ac nulla secutast
pugna, sed hinc iugulis, hinc ferro bella geruntur.
nec ualet haec acies tantum prosternere quantum
inde perire potest. utinam, Pharsalia, campis
sufficiat cruor iste tuis, quem barbara fundunt
pectora; non alio mutentur sanguine fontes;

hic numerus totos tibi uestiat ossibus agros:
aut si Romano compleri sanguine mauis,
istis parce precor; uiuant Galataeque Syrique,
Cappadoces Gallique extremique orbis Hiberi,
Armenii, Cilices; nam post ciuilia bella
hic populus Romanus erit. semel ortus in omnes
it timor, et fatis datus est pro Caesare cursus.

The bloody fight in the centre. Caesar's activity.

Ventum erat ad robur Magni mediasque cateruas.
quod totos errore uago perfuderat agros,
constitit hic bellum, fortunaque Caesaris haesit.
illic non regum auxiliis collecta iuuentus
bella gerit ferrumque manus mouere rogatae:
ille locus fratres habuit locus ille parentes.
hic furor, hic rabies, hic sunt tua crimina, Caesar:
hanc fuge, mens, belli partem tenebrisque relinque,
nullaque tantorum discat me uate malorum,
quam multum bellis liceat ciuilibus, aetas.
a potius pereant lacrimae pereantque querellae;
quidquid in hac acie gessisti, Roma, tacebo.
hic Caesar, rabies populi stimulusque furorum,
ne qua parte sui pereat scelus, agmina circum
it uagus atque animis ignes flagrantibus addit;
inspicit et gladios, qui toti sanguine manent,
qui niteant primo tantum mucrone cruenti,
quae presso tremat ense manus, quis languida tela,
quis contenta ferat, quis praestet bella iubenti,
quem pugnare iuuet, quis uoltum ciue perempto
mutet; obit latis proiecta cadauera campis;
uolnera multorum totum fusura cruorem
opposita premit ipse manu. quacumque uagatur,
sanguineum ueluti quatiens Bellona flagellum,

Bistonas aut Mauors agitans si uerbere saeuo
Palladia stimulet turbatos aegide currus,
nox ingens scelerum est; caedes oriuntur, et instar
immensae uocis gemitus, et pondere lapsi
pectoris arma sonant confractique ensibus enses.
ipse manu subicit gladios ac tela ministrat,
aduersosque iubet ferro confundere uoltus.
promouet ipse acies; inpellit terga suorum:
uerbere conuersae cessantis excitat hastae.
in plebem uetat ire manus monstratque senatum.
scit, cruor imperii qui sit, quae uiscera rerum,
unde petat Romam, libertas ultima mundi
quo steterit ferienda loco. permixta secundo
ordine nobilitas uenerandaque corpora ferro
urguentur. caedunt Lepidos caeduntque Metellos
Coruinosque simul Torquataque nomina, regum
saepe duces summosque hominum te, Magne, remoto.

Brutus seeks to kill Caesar.

Illic plebeia contectus casside uoltus 586
ignotusque hosti quid ferrum, Brute, tenebas?
o decus imperii, spes o suprema senatus,
extremum tanti generis per saecula nomen,
ne rue per medios nimium temerarius hostes,
nec tibi fatales admoueris ante Philippos,
Thessalia periture tua. nil proficis istic
Caesaris intentus iugulo: nondum attigit arcem
iuris et humanum columen, quo cuncta premuntur,
egressus meruit fatis tam nobile letum.
uiuat et, ut Bruti procumbat uictima, regnet.

The death of Domitius.

Hic patriae perit omne decus: iacet aggere magno
patricium campis non mixta plebe cadauer.
mors tamen eminuit clarorum in strage uirorum
pugnacis Domiti; quem clades fata per omnis
ducebant; nusquam Magni Fortuna sine illo
succubuit. uictus totiens a Caesare salua
libertate perit: tum mille in uolnera laetus
labitur ac uenia gaudet caruisse secunda.
uiderat in crasso uersantem sanguine membra
Caesar, et increpitans 'Iam Magni deseris arma,
successor Domiti; sine te iam bella geruntur.'
dixerat; ast illi suffecit pectora pulsans
spiritus in uocem morientiaque ora resoluit.
'Non te funesta scelerum mercede potitum,
sed dubium fati, Caesar, generoque minorem
aspiciens, Stygias Magno duce liber ad umbras
et securus eo; te saeuo Marte subactum,
Pompeioque graues poenas nobisque daturum,
cum morior, sperare licet.' non plura locutum
uita fugit, densaeque oculos mersere tenebrae.

A scene of carnage.

Inpendisse pudet lacrimas in funere mundi
mortibus innumeris, ac singula fata sequentem
quaerere, letiferum per cuius uiscera uolnus
exierit; quis fusa solo uitalia calcet;
ore quis aduerso demissum faucibus ensem
expulerit moriens anima; quis corruat ictu,
quis steterit dum membra cadunt; qui pectore tela
transmittant, uel quos campis affixerit hasta:
quis cruor e scissis perruperit aera uenis

inque hostis cadat arma sui; quis pectora fratris
caedat et, ut notum possit spoliare cadauer,
abscisum longe mittat caput; ora parentis
quis laceret nimiaque probet spectantibus ira,
quem iugulat, non esse patrem. mors nulla querella
digna sua est, nullosque hominum lugere uacamus.
non istas habuit pugnae Pharsalia partes,
quas aliae clades: illic per fata uirorum,
per populos hic Roma perit: quae militis illic,
mors hic gentis erat; sanguis ibi fluxit Achaeus,
Ponticus, Assyrius; cunctos haerere cruores
Romanus campisque uetat consistere torrens.
maius ab hac acie, quam quod sua saecula ferrent,
uolnus habent populi; plus est quam uita salusque
quod perit; in totum mundi prosternimur aeuum:
uincitur his gladiis omnis quae seruiet aetas.
proxima quid suboles aut quid meruere nepotes
in regnum nasci? pauide num gessimus arma,
teximus aut iugulos? alieni poena timoris
in nostra ceruice sedet. post proelia natis
si dominum, Fortuna, dabas, et bella dedisses.

Pompey sees that all is over and retires undaunted from the field.

Iam Magnus transisse deos Romanaque fata
senserat infelix, tota uix clade coactus
fortunam damnare suam. stetit aggere campi
eminus, unde omnis sparsas per Thessala rura
adspiceret clades quae bello obstante latebant.
tot telis sua fata peti, tot corpora fusa,
ac se tam multo pereuntem sanguine uidit.
nec, sicut mos est miseris, trahere omnia secum
mersa iuuat gentesque suae miscere ruinae:

ut Latiae post se uiuat pars maxima turbae,
sustinuit dignos etiam nunc credere uotis
caelicolas, uoluitque sui solacia casus:
'Parcite iam, superi, cunctas prosternere gentes:
stante potest mundo Romaque superstite Magnus
esse miser. si plura iuuant mea uolnera, coniunx
est mihi, sunt nati; dedimus tot pignora fatis.
ciuiline parum est bello si meque meosque
obruet? exiguae clades sumus orbe remoto?
omnia quid laceras? quid perdere cuncta laboras?
iam nihil est, Fortuna, meum.' sic fatur, et arma
signaque et adflictas omni iam parte cateruas
circumit, et reuocat matura in fata ruentes
seque negat tanti. nec derat robur in enses
ire duci iuguloque pati uel pectore letum:
sed timuit, strato miles ne corpore Magni
non fugeret supraque ducem procumberet orbis;
Caesaris aut oculis uoluit subducere mortem,
nequiquam: infelix, socero spectare uolenti
praestandum est ubicumque caput: seu tu quoque, coniunx,
causa fugae uoltusque tui, fatisque negatum
te praesente mori. tum Magnum concitus aufert
a bello sonipes non tergo tela pauentem
ingentisque animos extrema in fata ferentem.
non gemitus, non fletus erat saluaque uerendus
maiestate dolor, qualem te, Magne, decebat
Romanis praestare malis. non inpare uoltu
aspicis Emathiam; nec te uidere superbum
prospera bellorum nec fractum aduersa uidebunt;
quamque fuit laeto per tres infida triumphos,
tam misero Fortuna minor. iam pondere fati
deposito securus abis; nunc tempora laeta

respexisse uacat; spes numquam implenda recessit;
quid fueris, nunc scire licet. fuge proelia dira,
ac testare deos nullum, qui perstet in armis,
iam tibi, Magne, mori. ceu flebilis Africa damnis
et ceu Munda nocens Pharioque a gurgite clades,
sic et Thessalicae post te pars maxima pugnae
non iam Pompei nomen populare per orbem
nec studium belli, sed par quod semper habemus,
libertas et Caesar, erit; teque inde fugato
ostendit moriens sibi se pugnasse senatus.

Better defeat and death than victory such as Caesar's.

Nonne iuuat pulsum bellis cessisse nec istud
perspectasse nefas, spumantis caede cateruas?
respice turbatos incursu sanguinis amnes,
et soceri miserere tui. quo pectore Romam
intrabit factus campis felicior istis?
quidquid in ignotis solus regionibus exsul,
quidquid sub Phario positus patiere tyranno,
crede deis, longo fatorum crede fauori,
uincere peius erat. prohibe lamenta sonare,
flere ueta populos, lacrimas luctusque remitte.
tam mala Pompei quam prospera mundus adoret.
adspice securus uoltu non supplice reges;
adspice possessas urbes donataque regna,
Aegyptum Libyamque: et terras elige morti.

Pompey's welcome in Larisa.

Vidit prima tuae testis Larisa ruinae
nobile nec uictum fatis caput. omnibus illa
ciuibus effudit totas per moenia uires
obuia, ceu laeto; promittunt munera flentes:
pandunt templa domos; socios se cladibus optant.

scilicet inmenso superest ex nomine multum:
teque minor solo, cunctas inpellere gentes
rursus in arma potes, rursusque in fata redire.
sed 'Quid opus uicto populis aut urbibus?' inquit
'uictori praestate fidem.' tu, Caesar, in alto
caedis adhuc cumulo patriae per uiscera uadis:
at tibi iam populos donat gener. auehit inde
Pompeium sonipes: gemitus lacrimaeque secuntur
plurimaque in saeuos populi conuicia diuos.
nunc tibi uera fides quaesiti, Magne, fauoris
contigit ac fructus. felix se nescit amari.

Caesar stops the slaughter and summons his troops to seize and plunder the Pompeian camp.

Caesar ut Hesperio uidit satis arua natare
sanguine, parcendum ferro manibusque suorum
iam ratus, ut uiles animas perituraque frustra
agmina permisit uitae. sed castra fugatos
ne reuocent pellatque quies nocturna pauorem,
protinus hostili statuit succedere uallo,
dum fortuna calet, dum conficit omnia terror,
non ueritus, graue ne fessis † aut Marte subactis †
hoc foret imperium. non magno hortamine miles
in praedam ducendus erat; 'Victoria nobis
plena, uiri;' dixit 'superest pro sanguine merces,
quam monstrare meum est; neque enim donare uocabo,
quod sibi quisque dabit. cunctis en plena metallis
castra patent; raptum Hesperiis e gentibus aurum
hic iacet, Eoasque premunt tentoria gazas.
tot regum fortuna simul Magnique coacta
exspectat dominos: propera praecedere, miles,
quos sequeris; quascumque tuas Pharsalia fecit,
a uictis rapiuntur opes.' nec plura locutus

inpulit amentes aurique cupidine caecos
ire super gladios supraque cadauera patrum
et caesos calcare duces. quae fossa, quis agger
sustineat pretium belli scelerumque petentis?
scire ruunt, quanta fuerint mercede nocentes:
inuenere quidem spoliato plurima mundo
bellorum in sumptus congestae pondera massae:
sed non impleuit cupientis omnia mentes.
quidquid fodit Hiber, quidquid Tagus expuit auri,
quod legit diues summis Arimaspus harenis
ut rapiant, paruo scelus hoc uenisse putabunt:
cum sibi Tarpeias uictor desponderit arces,
cum spe Romanae promiserit omnia praedae,
decipitur quod castra rapit.

To Caesar and his troops asleep in the camp appear the phantoms of the slain.

capit inpia plebes
caespite patricio somnos, caesumque cubile
regibus infandus miles premit, inque parentum
inque toris fratrum posuerunt membra nocentes:
quos agitat uaesana quies somnique furentes
Thessalicam miseris uersant in pectore pugnam.
inuigilat cunctis saeuum scelus, armaque tota
mente agitant, capuloque manus absente mouentur.
ingemuisse putem campos terramque nocentem
inspirasse animas, infectumque aera totum
manibus et superam Stygia formidine noctem.
exigit a miseris tristes uictoria poenas,
sibilaque et flammas infert sopor. umbra perempti
ciuis adest: sua quemque premit terroris imago:
ille senum uoltus, iuuenum uidet ille figuras;
hunc agitant totis fraterna cadauera somnis;

pectore in hoc pater est: omnes in Caesare manes.
haud alios, nondum Scythica purgatus in ara,
Eumenidum uidit uoltus Pelopeus Orestes;
nec magis attonitos animi sensere tumultus,
cum fureret, Pentheus, aut, cum desisset, Agaue.
hunc omnes gladii, quos aut Pharsalia uidit
aut ultrix uisura dies stringente senatu,
illa nocte premunt; hunc infera monstra flagellant.
et quantum poenae misero mens conscia donat,
quod Styga, quod manes, ingestaque Tartara somnis
Pompeio uiuente uidet!

The next day Caesar gloats over the scene and with useless vindictiveness refuses to burn the dead.

tamen omnia passo
postquam clara dies Pharsalica damna retexit,
nulla loci facies reuocat feralibus aruis
haerentes oculos. cernit propulsa cruore
flumina et excelsos cumulis aequantia colles
corpora, sidentis in tabem spectat aceruos,
et Magni numerat populos; epulisque paratur
ille locus, uoltus ex quo faciesque iacentum
agnoscat. iuuat Emathiam non cernere terram
et lustrare oculis campos sub clade latentes;
ac ne laeta furens scelerum spectacula perdat,
inuidet igne rogi miseris, caeloque nocenti
ingerit Emathiam. non illum Poenus humator
consulis et Libyca succensae lampade Cannae,
conpellunt, hominum ritus ut seruet in hoste;
sed meminit nondum satiata caedibus ira
ciues esse suos. petimus non singula busta
discretosque rogos; unum da gentibus ignem;

fortunam superosque suos in sanguine cernit.

non interpositis urantur corpora flammis.
aut generi si poena iuuat, nemus extrue Pindi,
erige congestas Oetaeo robore siluas,
Thessalicam uideat Pompeius ab aequore flammam.
nil agis hac ira: tabesne cadauera soluat
an rogus, haud refert; placido Natura receptat
cuncta sinu, finemque sui sibi corpora debent.
hos, Caesar, populos si nunc non usserit ignis,
uret cum terris, uret cum gurgite ponti.
communis mundo superest rogus ossibus astra
mixturus. quocumque tuam Fortuna uocabit,
hae quoque eunt animae: non altius ibis in auras,
non meliore loco Stygia sub nocte iacebis.
libera fortunae mors est: capit omnia tellus,
quae genuit: caelo tegitur qui non habet urnam.
tu, cui dant poenas inhumato funere gentes,
quid fugis hanc cladem? quid olentes deseris agros?
has trahe, Caesar, aquas; hoc, si potes, utere caelo.
sed tibi tabentes populi Pharsalica rura
eripiunt camposque tenent uictore fugato.

The beasts and birds that feasted on the slain.

Non solum Haemonii funesta ad pabula belli
Bistonii uenere lupi, tabemque cruentae
caedis odorati Pholoen liquere leones.
tunc ursae latebras, obscaeni tecta domosque
deseruere canes, et quidquid nare sagaci
aera non sanum motumque cadauere sentit.
iamque diu uolucres ciuilia castra secutae
conueniunt. uos, quae Nilo mutare soletis
Threicias hiemes, ad mollem serius Austrum
istis, aues. numquam tanto se uolture caelum
induit aut plures presserunt aera pinnae.

omne nemus misit uolucres omnisque cruenta
alite sanguineis stillauit roribus arbor.
saepe super uoltus uictoris et inpia signa
aut cruor aut alto defluxit ab aethere tabes,
membraque deiecit iam lassis unguibus ales.
sic quoque non omnis populus peruenit ad ossa
inque feras discerptus abit: non intima curant
uiscera nec totas auide sorbere medullas;
degustant artus. Latiae pars maxima turbae
fastidita iacet: quam sol nimbique diesque
longior Emathiis resolutam miscuit aruis.

Apostrophe to guilty Thessaly.

Thessalia infelix, quo tanto crimine tellus
laesisti superos, ut te tot mortibus unam,
tot scelerum fatis premerent? quod sufficit aeuum
inmemor ut donet belli tibi damna uetustas?
quae seges infecta surget non decolor herba?
quo non Romanos uiolabis uomere manes?
ante nouae uenient acies, scelerique secundo
praestabis nondum siccos hoc sanguine campos.
omnia maiorum uertamus busta licebit,
et stantis tumulos, et qui radice uetusta
effudere suas uictis conpagibus urnas,
plus cinerum Haemoniae sulcis telluris aratur,
pluraque ruricolis feriuntur dentibus ossa.
nullus ab Emathio religasset litore funem
nauita, nec terram quisquam mouisset arator
Romani bustum populi, fugerentque coloni
umbrarum campos, gregibus dumeta carerent
nullusque auderet pecori permittere pastor
uellere surgentem de nostris ossibus herbam,

ac uelut inpatiens hominum uel solis iniqui
limite uel glacie, nuda atque ignota iaceres,
si non prima nefas belli sed sola tulisses.
o superi, liceat terras odisse nocentes.
quid totum premitis, quid totum absoluitis orbem?
Hesperiae clades et flebilis unda Pachyni
et Mutina et Leucas puros fecere Philippos.

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

[*H.* = Haskins' *edition of Lucan*, 1887.
Heitl. = Heitland, *Introduction* to the same.
R. = Roby's *Latin Grammar*, cited by sections.
N. L. P. = *New Latin Primer*, cited by sections.]

1. **Segnior**, i.e. rising more tardily. **Oceano**. A preposition would be added in prose, *R.* 1258, *N. L. P.* 149. The sun was slow in obeying the call of destiny (εἱμαρμένη), the immutable chain of cause and effect which in the Stoic view governed the universe.

2. **luctificus** with **numquam magis** 'never more fraught with mourning.' See also Crit. App. **Titan**, used only of the sun in Lucan, except IX 654 where 'Atlanta' is added. **contra**, the sun and planets being supposed to move in the opposite direction to that in which the ether and the fixed stars revolved. Ovid *Met.* 2. 72 sq. (of the sun) 'nitor in aduersum nec me, qui cetera, uincit | impetus, et rapido *contrarius* euehor orbi,' so Manilius, the Stoic poet, 1. 258 sq. 'solemque—atque alia *aduerso* luctantia sidera *mundo*.' *contra* is also used of mounting *up* a fixed object (cf. 'aduerso monte' *uphill*) as H. takes it here, comparing Plin. *N. H.* 7. § 83, Silius Italicus 14. 352.

3. **cursum** (Crit. App.) with **rapiente** and **retorsit**.

5. **attraxit** 'drew *to himself*.' The Latin, having no middle voice, often uses the active instead, without as well as with *se*; so *ferre* means φέρειν 'bring' and φέρεσθαι 'take.' **pabula**. The Stoics and other ancients taught that the sun was fed on watery vapours. Lucan I 415 sq. 'flammiger an Titan, ut *alentes* hauriat undas | erigat *Oceanum fluctus*que ad sidera ducat.' So the false Anacreon 21 (19).

3 sq. *πίνει θάλασσα δ' αὔρας | ὁ δ' ἥλιος θάλασσαν | τὸν δ' ἥλιον σελήνη.* According to Lucan on this occasion he desired not to feed but to cloud his rays.

6. **purus**, adj. because referring to the sun's *state*, *N. L. P.* 159. **orbe** 'realm' of a part of the world. So 223.

9. Pompey's theatre completed in 52 B.C. and known as the 'stone theatre' could hold 40,000 spectators. Lucan, who is well aware of Pompey's vain passion for popularity (cf. 726), says pointedly I 132 sq. 'totus popularibus auris | impelli *plausu*que *sui* gaudere *theatri*.'

10. **innumeram**, a 'transferred epithet' belonging in sense to **plebis**. **effigiem** properly a 'cast' or 'model' (ef-fingo), then the 'copy' as opposed to the real thing and so, as here, a 'phantom.'

12. Apparently an imitation of Virgil *Georg.* 2. 508 sqq.

14. **primi**, an anachronism. His *first* triumph was in Sept. 81 after he reduced Numidia. The Spanish triumph was 10 years later, followed in 10 years again by the last of the three (685), the Mithridatic.

16. **fugax** 'runaway' Sertorius, in allusion to his guerilla methods of warfare. **inpulit** 'set in motion,' 'stirred up'; cf. II 549 'quique feros *mouit* Sertorius exul Hiberos' and 718 sq.

17. **Vespere**, the lands of evening, the West, here Spain, cf. Sil. It. 3. 325 sq. 'totus adest *Vesper* populique reposti; | Cantaber ante omnis.' **pacato** 'tranquillized,' i.e. 'subjected,' a euphemism apparently introduced by Julius Caesar and adopted in official language. The British chieftain Calgacus says bitterly of the Romans 'ubi *solitudinem* faciunt, *pacem* appellant' Tac. *Agr.* 30. **pura** 'plain,' opposed to the purple-bordered *toga* (*praetexta*) of magistrates and the embroidered *toga picta* worn at triumphs and referred to in the next line. Both at his first and his second triumph Pompey was strictly a *priuatus*, as he had held no civil office but was simply general, with the titles of propraetor and proconsul on the two occasions respectively.

18. **quam**, cf. V 152, so after most words expressing comparison in Plautus, Livy etc., but Cicero and Caesar would use *ac*. **currus**, the triumphal car; so 280, Prop. 2. 14. 24, Juv. 8. 3 'stantes in curribus Aemilianos.' The plur. is generic '*a* triumphal car.' **ornante**, i.e. *quae ornat* 359 n.

19. **seu** 'whether it was that,' introducing three alternative explanations, cf. 197 n. **fine bonorum** 'at the close of his happiness,' compare VIII 29 'nisi summa dies *cum fine bonorum* | adfuit' (again of Pompey).

20. **anxia** refers to 'the dreaming thought' (*quies* 22); cf. 815 n.

21. **contraria uisis.** That dreams 'go by contraries' is the common belief and the view which, according to Zonaras (10. 8), Pompey himself took of this dream, although the younger Pliny advising his friend Suetonius (the biographer) says *Ep.* 1. 18. 2 (quoted by H.) 'refert tamen *euentura soleas* an *contraria* somniare.'

22. What was seen (*uisis*) was 'a great clapping of the hands,' 'magnus *plausus*'; what was signified 'a great beating of the breast,' magnus *planctus*. Compare Florus 4. 2. 45 'dux ipse et nocturna imagine *plausum* theatri sui audiens in modum *planctus* circumsonatus.'

23. **ultra,** of time, after a negative, cf. 88, Livy 2. 19. 2. **cernere,** i.e. with the bodily vision, opposed to *sic* (24) in dreams.

25. **nullas.** As Pompey's ears only can be intended, the adj. is no more than an emphatic *non* 'not at all.' This peculiarity of expression, best known from 'nullus uenit' (Cic. etc.) 'he *never* came' and other similar phrases, is freely used by Lucan, cf. e.g. VIII 804 sq. 'cinerumque tuorum, | Magne, metu *nullas* Nili calcemus harenas' (and Heitl. p. 108 (ſ)), but nowhere more freely than here. **tuba,** the trumpet's voice,(cf. 'nec *tuba* sit fati uana querela mei' Prop. 2. 13. 20 and 72 n.,)sounding the night watches.

26. **quies,** i.e. dreams; compare 22, 764.

28. **pares,** adj. (Crit. App.). The accusatives depend on *ferat quies* to be supplied from l. 27, as a sheer ellipse is hardly ever found with *quo?*, *unde?*, except where a dat. of the person is added as Hor. *Serm.* 2. 5. 102 'unde *mihi* tam fortem tamque fidelem?' **populis,** 'compendious' comparison, 'like *that of* the multitude'; cf. 144 n. For the sense cf. Juv. 1. 15 sqq. 'et nos | consilium dedimus Sullae, *priuatus* ut *altum* | *dormiret*.'

31. **fati,** the inevitable parting. **uterque,** you and Rome, which is half personified; see below, 373 n.

32. Compare V 792 sqq. (Cornelia) 'non maesti pectora Magni | sustinet amplexu dulci, non colla tenere, | *extremus*que perit *tam longi fructus amoris*.'

33. The order is *tu uadis uelut* etc. Lucan, like other Latin poets, has frequent dislocations of words (hyperbaton), cf. 133, 685, 797 notes.

34. **rati uoti** 'of her prayers being always fulfilled,' cf. Prop. 4 (5). 10. 14 '*uotis* occupat ante *ratis*.' The special reference is to the prayers for Pompey's recovery in B.C. 50, Juv. 10. 283 sqq. 'prouida Pompeio dederat Campania febres | optandas, sed multae urbes et *publica uota* | uicerunt.'

35. **fatis**, apparently dat.; cf. Cic. *Rosc. Com.* § 17 'potest *huic homini* hoc *haerere* peccatum.' Claudian, a frequent imitator of Lucan, has (*in Eutrop.* 2. 9) 'inmotis haesere piacula (crimes) fatis.'

37. **flesset**, i.e. if you had been buried in Rome instead of Egypt (*v.* 36).

38. **iniussus** 'unbidden,' without a hint from those in charge of them, such as Silius Italicus mentions in 11. 498 sqq. 'illum turba minor *moniti* gaudere nepotes | et senior manus et iuxta populusque Patresque | mactatis superum dignantur honore iuuencis.' The natural hilarity of youth was strictly repressed on these mournful occasions; compare Cic. *Tusc.* 3. § 64 'pueros uero matres et magistri castigare etiam solent, nec uerbis solum sed etiam *uerberibus*, si quid in domestico luctu hilarius ab iis factum est aut dictum, *plorare cogunt*.'

39. **femineum uolgus**, i.e. the matronae who mourned a year for Brutus, Livy 2. 7. 4.

42. **Tonanti**, i.e. to the temple of Juppiter Capitolinus. Caesar (41) with his victorious army (40) is supposed to be in Rome, and the occasion intended appears to be his triumph rather than a public thanksgiving (*supplicatio*) for his victory. In either case Lucan perverts the history, see Cic. *Phil.* 14. 23 'ad te ipsum, P. Seruili, num misit ullas collega litteras *de* illa calamitosissima pugna *Pharsalia?* num te de *supplicatione* uoluit referre? profecto *noluit*. at misit postea de Alexandria, de Pharnace: Pharsaliae uero pugnae *ne triumphum quidem* egit.'

43. The sense must be 'who could only show their grief by groans.' But **edere** must be corrupt, see Crit. App.

44. **pariter** 'all together' as in V 426. Observe the picturesque alliteration.

45. **uicerat**. The metaphor suggests a battle, perhaps intentionally; cf. Val. Fl. 3. 210 sq. (where the stars stand their ground) 'sic *pugnae* crudescit opus; neque enim ignea *cedunt* | astra *loco*, lentis haeret nox conscia bigis.'

46. **trahentibus** 'dragging along,' i.e. to its doom; cf. 346.

48. **non totum** 'fated not to see the close of day.'

49. **accensa** 'heated' of any excitement, cf. VI 282 '*accendit* (Caesarem) pax ipsa loci.' **magno tumultu**, abl. of accompaniment.

50. **properantis**, i.e. though hastening. For **admouet** 'brings nearer,' 'quickens the approach of' and the sense, cf. *v.* 591 and Statius' imitation *Theb.* 8. 375 '*fatalem* populis *ultro poscentibus horam* | *admouet* atra dies.'

53, 54. **orbis indulgens regno** 'indulging too far in sovereignty over the world,' i.e. prolonging it unduly. A bolder use occurs in IV 664 '*indulsit* castris,' i.e. spread out his quarters.

55. **iuris habere sui** 'keep under his own control.' For the gen. compare I 51 sq. '*iuris*que *tui* Natura *relinquet* | quis deus esse uelis.'

timeret because he would then lose his command.

57. **bella trahi**, cf. Introd. p. xviii. The subject of **teneri**, being the same as that of *queruntur*, a verb of 'saying,' is not expressed. This happens sometimes even in prose, *R.* 1346, *N. L. P.* 377 (3).

58. **uertere cuncta** 'when bent on universal overthrow.' The expression is proverbial; cf. Cic. *Off.* 1. § 84 'Callicratidas—cum Lacedaemoniorum dux fuisset Peloponnesiaco bello multaque fecisset egregie *uertit* ad extremum *omnia*.'

59. **erroribus** 'mistakes' of judgment. **crimen** 'guilt' explained by the next line, cf. [Ov.] *Heroid.* 17. 47 sq. 'nec ullus | *error*, qui facti *crimen* obumbret, erit.'

60. **irruimus** 'rush into'; here and in Claudian *Cons. Mall. Theod.* 194 'irruet intrepidus flammis,' with dat. apparently on the analogy of *incido*. **nocitura**. In many places Lucan employs *nocere* in a strong sense, 'be fatal' or 'destructive'; cf. 160, 502, 692.

61. **uotum est Pharsalia** 'men pray for—Pharsalia!'; cf. also 121 n.

62. **auctor** 'model'; 'Caecilius malus auctor Latinitatis' Cic. *Att.* 3. 7. 10.

63. **Tullius**. On this misrepresentation of the facts and of the character of Cicero see the Introduction p. xviii, n. 4. **iure togaque** = 'iure togato,' and so the Schol. on Juv. 8. 243 quotes the line; but the hendiadys is better, as Lucan alludes to Cicero's famous phrase 'cedant arma *togae*'; see Cic. *Phil.* 2. § 20.

65. **pertulit**, sc. *ad Pompeium*.

66. **passus** 'having had to bear silence for so long in the camp.' Perhaps Lucan is thinking of the end of Cicero's hexameter (cited above) 'concedat *laurea linguae*.'

69. **Fortuna**, for Pompey's fortune cf. 75, 248, 601, 649, 705.

70. **mundo**, hyperbolical for the foreign auxiliaries, cf. Introd. p. xvii.

71. **adfusi** 'stretched at your feet.' *fusus* means no more than 'lying at length on the ground'; cf. 305, 652 *corpora fusa*.

72. **humani generis** with **bellum**. The dat. (Crit. App.) would be more usual; the gen. is an extension of the possessive use such as we have in *Pompei* 112. **bellum** 'cause of war' to mankind. The Latin

expression is often less analytic than the Eng.; cf. Prop. 3 (4). 13. 38 'nec fuerat nudas *poena* (cause of punishment) uidere deas'; cf. *tuba* 'trumpet note' 24 n., notes on 234, 287, 867 *limite*.

74. **indignum** 'a shame,' 'an indignity' (X 406 'quos *erat indignum* Phario parere tyranno') and so 'matter of shame,' 'a cause for indignation' (comp. '*indignitas*' Livy for 'indignatio' and previous note). **a transcurrente** opp. to *lente*, 'as he hurried past them,' 'by the way'; Claudian *Cons. Stil.* 1. 195 'uestra manus (addressing Drusus and Trajan) quidquid dubio discrimine gessit, | *transcurrens* egit Stilicho,' Quint. Curt. 5. 14 'Syriam Aegyptumque *a praetereuntibus raptas*.' *trans-=praeter-*, as '*limina transire*' Prop. 2. 7. 9, 'trans Pharon' VIII 184.

75. **fati**, another reference to Pompey's fortune, continued in *ingrate*, l. 76.

77. **signa reuellent**, i.e. for the advance (cf. 162), the converse of *signa statuere*, Livy 5. 55. 2 'signifer, statue signum; hic manebimus optime.'

78. **uicisse**, 617 n.

79. **duce te iusso** 'with thee as appointed leader,' i.e. if you owe your command to us. For Pompey's election by the Senate see V 46 sqq. '"consulite in medium, Patres, Magnumque *iubete* | *esse ducem*." laeto nomen clamore senatus | excipit.' **nobis**, i.e. *non tibi*.

80. **sit iuris** 'let it be within their right.' *ius* would be more common; but cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4. 3. 21 'totum *muneris* hoc *tui* est' and elsewhere. **concurrere**, properly of *two* armies engaging, then of either one, and even of single combatants, Virg. *Aen.* 12. 571, Prop. 4 (5). 10. 35.

81. **mundi**, as we say 'the world's,' a use hardly earlier than the battle of Actium, Prop. 4 (5). 6. 19 'huc *mundi* coiere manus.'

83. **te linquant**, as they are said to have done in Caesar's army at the battle of Thapsus, Florus 4. 2. 66 'ante imperium ducis sua sponte signa cecinerunt'; cf. *Bell. Afr.* 82 'iniussu Caesaris tubicen a militibus coactus canere coepit.' For *classica* see 476.

85. **comes** is sarcastic, 'in your retinue.' 'Are we to fight, or are you the governor of a peaceful province and we your suite (*comitatus*)?'

86. 'that there was treachery in heaven and that fate was thwarting his purpose.'

87. **milite** 'as soldier' opposed to **duce**, as in 223, cf. 356 n.

90. (Crit. App.) **ista** 'this'; cf. 115 and often in Lucan, Heitl. *p. 108 (η)*.

91. **perirent**, imperfect, because of *accepisse* which, as the perfect proper, may take a secondary tense. Compare Q. Cicero 4. 13 'quae subsidia *haberes* et habere *posses exposui*' (though in Eng. we say 'I have set out what aids you *have* and *can* have'), and *N. L. P.* 229, 389 (*a*). The student should observe that the present *testor* has no power to alter the sequence of the verbs depending on the perf. inf.

92. **accepisse** 'have had it imposed upon me' as terms (cf. *leges accipere*) are imposed on the conquered.

93. **stare**, cf. III 381 'tum res *immenso* placuit *statura labore*.' **labor** is very common in connexion with *bellum*, no doubt from the exceedingly toilsome character of Roman warfare; so even without *bellum* Tib. 1. 1. 3 'quem *labor* assiduus uicino terreat hoste,' Prop. 4 (5). 1. 139. **sine caede** to be taken with **captiuum** as well as **subactum**.

94. **tradere**, for punishment. Caesar knew (as well as Pompey cf. VIII 10 sqq. 'seque memor fati tantae mercedis habere | credit adhuc iugulum quantum *pro Caesaris* ipse | *auolsa ceruice daret*') what was in store for him if defeated (304 sqq.).

95. **scelerum** with **furor** 'guilty madness.' See also Crit. App.

96. **metuunt**. The Schol. notices the change of person as intentional, cf. 109 n.

97. **terras** opposed to **aequore**. Pompey's fleet commanded the sea. The Schol. quotes Virg. *Aen*. 9. 131 sq. 'rerum pars altera adempta est; | terra autem in manibus nostris.'

98. **praematuras** 'unripe.' Caesar says of himself *B. C.* 3. 81 'idoneum locum in agris nactus quo *prope* iam *matura* erant frumenta' that is a few days (ib. 82) before Pompey's arrival in Thessaly.

99 sq. The expression is somewhat redundant. We could dispense either with **uotum** or **ut mallet**.

100. **gladiis**, i.e. *non fame*; cf. *ieiuna* 98.

101. **meis**, i.e. *meorum*; perhaps a compendious comparison (28 n.); but cf. 652 n. For the idea cf. 655.

102. **his**, neuter 'by the measures.' **ne**, cf. 406 n. **tiro**, sing. for plur. as 758 and 838 *uictor*, 402 *fossore*, 203 *augure* and *mens*, 294 *corpus*, 598 and 830 *cadauer*, 820 *funere*, 834 *uolture*, 837 *alite*. So probably *Cyclops* 150. Pompey takes just credit to himself for training his raw levies; compare Introd. p. xviii.

103. **irae**, of martial ardour; frequent in Lucan, e.g. III 614 'creuit in aduersis *uirtus*; plus nobilis *irae* | truncus habet,' IV 267, 553; 124, 386 *inf.*; Cic. *Acad.* 2. § 135 'ipsam *iracundiam* fortitudinis quasi

cotem esse dicebant'; Seneca *de ira* III. 3. 1 (of Aristotle) '*calcar* ait esse *uirtutis*.'

104. **signa**, as in 82.

105. **timor ipse**, i.e. mere fright often produces the same effect as courage. **fortissimus** 'brave in the truest sense.'

106. **promptus** contains the apodosis to **si instent**; so 'exsul' 379.

107. **et** 'also.' **placet**, as often, of a final decision.

108 sq. **mundi discrimen** 'the world's arbitrament' 'the decision of the world's doom'; cf. 242 n.

109. **malunt**, the change of person is rhetorically effective; cf. 96 n., 720.

110. **dederas**, the plup. is often used in Latin for clearness or other reasons instead of the aor.

111. **maiores**, *maiores factas* Schol.

112. **bellum** 'the battle'; so in 117, 287, 331, 547.

113. **uotis...iniquis**, i.e. prayers which it is unjust to grant; cf. Claudian *Pan. Theod.* 241 'idem praedurus *iniquas* | accepisse *preces*.'

114. **pugnatur** 'we fight.' A vivid present for the future; cf. 379, 746, 816.

115. **lux ista**, as in 90.

116. **turbidus**, cf. 700. **Enipeus**, 224 and Introd. p. xxxvi.

117. **hoc**, mine. **belli**, 112 n.

118. **sine momento** 'without turning the scale' against us, cf. IV 819 '*momentum*que fuit mutatus Curio *rerum*.' **partis** 'party.' Lucan, like other writers, uses both the sing. (IV 348) and the plur. (V 350) of *pars* in this sense.

120. **laetior**, sc. *sit*.

121. **Pompeius erit...nomen.** Lucan is fond of this form of sentence; we have already had it three times, 61, 72, 112.

122. **feret.** In Eng. a pres. would be used as the statement is general, 'all the misfortune that Fortune's worst can bring.' But Latin prefers to assimilate the tenses in both members of the condition, cf. *N. L. P.* 224.

124. **ira**, 103 n.

125. **et ut uictus.** *ut euictus* (Crit. App.) would be simpler; but the Greeks and Romans had a tendency to mix up the two parts of a simile, especially if the same verb could be used in both. So here 'laxat, et, ut uictus nauita dat regimen uentis ignauumque...onus (trahitur), *trahitur*.' Catull. 64. 239 sqq. 'haec mandata, prius *constanti mente tenentem*, | Thesea ceu pulsae uentorum flamine nubes \

aerium niuei montis *liquere* cacumen'; Hor. *Serm.* 1. 3. 9 sqq. 'saepe uelut qui | *currebat* fugiens hostem, persaepe uelut qui | Iunonis sacra ferret.' So in Pind. *Nem.* 8. 40 sqq. *αὔξεται δ' ἀρετὰ χλωραῖς ἐέρσαις ὡς ὅτε δένδρεον ᾄσσει | ἐν σοφοῖς ἀνδρῶν ἀερθεῖσ' ἐν δικαίοις τε | πρὸς ὑγρὸν αἰθέρα.* The last words belong to the tree, just as in ib. 6. 64 sq. *δελφῖνί κεν τάχος δι' ἅλμας | ἰσώσαιμι* (so we should read, *ἴσον εἴποιμι* codd.) *Μελησίαν, δι' ἅλμας* belongs only to the dolphin.

126. **dat regimen,** i.e. lets the winds steer. **ignauum** 'inactive' expl.* by **arte relicta** 'abandoning his craft' or 'profession,' here the *ars gubernandi* (Cic., Quintil.) or navigation. So *iners* is properly a man who has no profession.

127. **onus,** he is mere 'freight'; *onus* (cf. *onero, oneraria*) is a regular word for 'cargo.'

128. **animi truces** 'even bold spirits'; *animus* the heart's action, cf. IV 285 sqq. 'saucia maiores *animos* ut pectora gestant | dum dolor est ictusque recens' (cf. 290), i.e. 'there is more vitality in the heart.' It could hardly mean the *hearts* themselves. For the strong emphasis on *truces* cf. notes on 241, 280, 711, 760. **pulsant.** Cf. *Il.* 2. 716 *θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι πάτασσε.*

129. **incertis** 'irregular,' a bad sign. H. quotes Aesch. *Ag.* 995—997.

130. **mortis.** The Schol. quotes *pallida morte futura* Virg. *Aen.* 4. 644 and the idea is common elsewhere. Cf. Macaulay, *Hist. of England* ch. v, on Monmouth before Sedgmoor 'The very children who pressed to see him pass observed and long remembered that his look was sad and full of evil augury.' The last words mean 'their appearance is that of doomed men.' On **uenturaest** see Crit. App.

132. **conderet** 'stablish,' i.e. determine 'destiny' as in Virg. *Aen.* 10. 35 'noua *condere fata,*' Val. Fl. 1. 531 'uetera haec nobis et *condita* pergunt | ordine cuncta suo.' The imperfect in sequence is due to **palam est** being a historical present and so able to take the construction of its *sense* (past) as well as of its tense (present), see *N. L. P.* 229, 389 (b), cf. 464, 638. **quaeri** with *illo Marte* 'the issue to be determined is,' cf. Livy 2. 57. 3 'magis quorum in manu sit (res publica) quam ut incolumis sit *quaeri.*' For the order cf. 33 n. **quid esset** 'what it is to be,' i.e. whether a *regnum* or a *libera ciuitas.* The imperf. indicates a time future to that of *conderet.* The ambiguity is usually avoided in prose by using the periphrastic future 'quid futura esset' (*N. L. P.* †232); but not always, cf. Livy 2. 55. 9. '*incerti* quatenus Volero exerceret uictoriam,' and other places.

133. **palam est** 'they see' VI 414 sqq. 'cunctos belli praesaga futuri | mens agitat summique grauem discriminis horam | aduentare *palam est*,' cf. 279, 526 n. **nescit** 'is unconscious of,' cf. Stat. *Th.* 5. 344 sq. 'mediis intersonat Orpheus | remigiis tantosque iubet *nescire* labores,' 7. 674 'sua uulnera *nescit*.'

134. **attonitus**, properly 'thunderstruck,' then 'dazed,' cf. 212, 779.

135 sq. An allusion to the Stoic views of the destruction by deluge or fire (ἐκπύρωσις), cf. II 289 sqq. 'sidera quis mundumque uelit spectare cadentem | expers ipse metus? quis, cum ruat arduus aether, | terra labet mixto coeuntis pondere mundi | complosas (*al.* compressas) tenuisse manus?' and 814 n.

137. **finem** 'the ending,' acc. in apposition to the sentence as a whole because 'the verbal idea is active,' *N. L. P.* 299; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9. 52 sq. 'iaculum attorquens emisit in auras, | *principium* pugnae.'

138. **ferre** 'bring with them'; cf. VI 418 sq. 'ad dubios pauci praesumpto robore casus | spemque metumque *ferunt*.'

139. **cautibus** 'whetstones' (=*cotibus*). Spelt with *au* the word in both numbers usually means a 'rock' or 'crag,' though *cotes* in the plur. is used in both senses. **asper**, i.e. *asperatus* 'sharpened,' the opposite of *hebes*; cf. VI 186 'iamque *hebes* et crasso *non asper* sanguine mucro,' Sil. It. 4. 19 '*saxo*que *exasperat ensem*.'

140. **exarsit** 'flashed fire,' from the friction; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2. 8. 15 sq. 'semper *ardentis acuens* sagittas | *cote* cruenta.' **lancea**, of the lance heads which were bent and so unserviceable, as I 242 'curuataque cuspide pila.'

141. **corrigitur** (Crit. App.) 'is straightened.'

143. **auget stimulos**, apparently 'chooses larger spurs'; cf. Sil. It. 9. 572 sqq. 'nam praeuectus equo moderantem cuspide Lucas | Maurum in bella boues *stimulis maioribus* ire | et raptare iubet Libycarum armenta ferarum.' The verb might possibly mean 'takes *fresh* spurs,' as in Suet. *Aug.* 96 '*augeri* hostias.' **frenorum... aptat** (Crit. App.) **habenas** 'looks to his bridle-reins'; *frena* includes the bit and headpiece as well as the *reins* (*habenae* from *habeo*).

144. **superis**, compendious comparison; cf. 28 n.

145. **Phlegra tollente** 'when Phlegra reared the Giants.' The verb appears to contain a reference to their gigantic stature, cf. the imitation in Statius *Theb.* 2. 595 sq. 'haud aliter Getica, si fas est credere, Phlegra | armatum *immensus* Briareus stetit aethera contra' and IV 597 '*quod non Phlegraeis* Antaeum *sustulit aruis*.'

146 sqq. Juvenal scoffs at this or a similar catalogue of weapons, 13. 78 sqq. **Siculis** of Aetna; cf. 150.

147. **cuspis**, cf. v 620 'rector Olympi | *cuspide fraterna* lassatum in saecula fulmen | adiuuit.'

148. **extenso**, cf. Virg. *Aen*. 5. 374 'fulua *moribundum extendit* harena.' **recoxit**, cf. Virg. *Aen*. 7. 636 '*recoquunt* patrios fornacibus enses.'

149. **diffudit** 'spread over' her shield. The lady combatant arranges her aegis for the fray. Of the *saxifica—Medusa* (IX 670), which 'Gigantas | erexit montes bellumque inmane deorum | Pallados e medio confecit pectore Gorgon' (ib. 656 sqq.), the only harmless part was the snakes, ib. 636 sq. 'hoc habet infelix *cunctis inpune* Medusa | *quod spectare licet*.'

150. **Pallenaea**. The adj. (cf. 435 n.) is used proleptically, 'for Pallene.' This was the later name of Phlegra; so Stat. *Silu*. 4. 2. 56 speaks of *Pallenaei triumphi*. **mutauit**, i.e. made him fresh ones. Cf. the imitation by Statius, *Theb*. l.c. 599 sq. 'hinc lasso *mutata* (so the MSS. rightly) Pyracmone temnens | fulmina.' **Cyclops**, apparently sing. for plur., cf. 102 n.

151. **abstinuit**, with inf. in Plautus (*Curc*. 180) and silver Latin (Suet. *Tib*. 23, Sil. It. 12. 44).

152. **Fortuna**, cf. 205 sq.

153 sqq. A violent storm of thunder and lightning, into which Lucan crowds all the pyrotechnics he can; Val. Max. 1. 6. 12 'Cn. etiam Pompeium Iuppiter omnipotens abunde monuerat ne cum C. Caesare ultimam belli fortunam experiri contenderet; egresso a Dyrrhachio *aduersa agmini eius fulmina iaciens*, examinibus apum signa obscurando, subita tristitia implicatis militum animis, nocturnis totius exercitus terroribus, ab ipsis altaribus hostiarum fuga.' And so the writer of 154, whoever he was, understood it. Cf. 224 n. The omen was a very bad one; so Pindar says of the expedition of the Seven against Thebes which had disregarded a similar warning φαινομέναν δ' ἄρ' ἐς ἄταν σπεῦδεν ὅμιλος ἱκέσθαι, *Nem*. 9. 21. **obstitit** is perhaps technical in this sense; cf. the quotation 'fulgura atque *obstita* pianto,' Cic. *Legg*. 2. 21; cf. 198 n. **aether**, explained by II 57 sq. '*conlatus in ignes* | plurimus ad terram *per fulmina* decidat *aether*.'

155 sq. **aduersas**, cf. Val. Max. supra. **faces** 'flambeaux,' δαλοί. **columnas** 'pillars,' cf. Manil. 1. 839 'quadratamue trabem fingit *teretemue columnam*,' and **trabibus** (δοκοί or δοκίδες) 'rafters,' are

various meteoric appearances. Seneca, *Nat. quaest.* 7. 4. 4, says that the *trabs* 'praebet speciem ignis extenti' and ib. 5. 2 '*trabes*—non transcurrunt nec praeteruolant ut *faces* sed commorantur et in eadem caeli parte conlucent.'

156. **typhonas** (Crit. App.). Lucan appears to refer to the fiery phenomenon described by Pliny *N. H.* 2. 91, an awful appearance to the peoples of Ethiopia and Egypt named after *Typhon*, a king of the period, 'ignea specie ac spirae modo intorta, uisu quoque toruo nec stella uerius quam *igneus nodus*.' Val. Fl. 3. 129 sqq. connects the appearance with *Typhon* (that is *Typhoeus*) the giant imprisoned in Aetna 'arduus et late *fumanti nube coruscus*, | quantus ubi immenso prospexit ab aethere *Typhon* | *igne* simul *uentisque rubens* quem Juppiter alte | crine tenet; trepidant *diro* sub *lumine puppes*.' The last words throw light on Lucan's somewhat obscure expression, **auidos...aquarum**, the typhon being supposed to suck up the sea. A writer in Cramer's *Anecd.* Vol. 3, p. 406 sq. says they are comets and continues, in agreement with Pliny, that they are fiery globes, *ὡσανεὶ σύνδεσμοι πυρὸς* and that they did not appear in Roman times but terrified Egypt previously. Joh. Laurent. *de mens.* 4. 73, p. 274, writes Τυφὼν πυρώδης καὶ αἱματώδης φαίνεται καὶ λεπτούς τινας διαρραίνων πλοκαμούς (cf. *crine* in Val. Fl.). Aristotle *de mundo* c. 4 however has *τυφὼν* in the sense of a thunderbolt without fire *τὸ δ' ἀστράψαν ἀναπυρωθὲν βιαίως ἄχρι τῆς γῆς διεκθέον κεραυνὸς καλεῖται.—ἐὰν δ' ἄπυρον ᾖ παντελῶς, τυφών.* The interest in meteorology is a feature of Stoicism. Cf. Zeller *Stoics &c.* p. 206 (tr.).

157. **ingesto** in the literal sense corresponding to the metaphorical one of 785 n.

158 sq. **cristas** includes the *apices* or ridges in which the plumes were set. **solutis** 'flooded the hilts with the molten blades'; cf. Claud. VI *Cons. Hon.* 344 sqq. 'hic tabescente solutus | subsedit galea liquefactaque fulgure cuspis | canduit et subitis *fluxere* vaporibus *enses*.' But why the *hilts*? Why were the swords *drawn*? In similar circumstances Seneca *N. Q.* 2. 31. 1 speaks of the sheath 'manente *uagina* gladius ipse liquescit et inuiolato *ligno* circa pila ferrum omne destillat.' **erepta** 'struck from their grasp.'

160. **aethereo**; cf. *aether*, 154 n. **nocens** 'deadly,' 60 n.

161. **examine** 'swarm' of bees is the only possible sense, as in Virg. *Ecl.* 7. 13, Florus 4. 2. 45 (of this battle) 'numquam inminentis ruinae manifestiora prodigia, fuga uictimarum, *examina in signis, interdiu tenebrae*'; Appian *B. C.* 2. 68 says, in disagreement with

the current account, that they settled on the altar *αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Πομπηΐῳ τῆς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς τινα τῶν ἱερείων οὐ συνελήφθη καὶ μελισσῶν ἑσμὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐκάθισε, ζῴου νωλεχοῦς.*

162. **maiori** 'bowed down with the unusual (or overpowering) weight.' The abl. in *ī* in comparative stems is extremely rare and, excepting *priori* Ov. *Met.* 8. 443 (a doubtful case), is not found in the best period. The other example in Lucan is *priori* IX 996. As is well known, it is usually the forms of the consonantal stems that supplant those of the *i* stems, not vice versa.

163. **mersere** 'caused to sink,' 'bowed down'; cf. Sil. It. 10. 78 sq. (of a dog snuffing along the ground) 'erroresque ferae sollers per deuia *mersa* | *nare* legit.' **rorantia fletu.** Statues are said to have wept, e.g. at Julius Caesar's fate, Virg. *G.* 1. 480, Ov. *Met.* 15. 792 and before Cannae, Sil. It. 8. 645, but ensigns perhaps only here. Some sort of personality seems to have been attributed to them, as Pliny tells us that the 'aquilae ac signa' were anointed with perfumes on feast days, adding sarcastically 'ita est nimirum hac mercede corruptae orbem terrarum deuicere aquilae.' Propertius 4 (5). 1. 96 'concidit ante aquilae *rostra cruenta* suae' perhaps intends to suggest a similar idea.

164. **publica** 'of the state.' After Pharsalia they were Cæsar's, i.e. *priuata*; cf. II 319 sq. 'quin *publica signa* ducemque | Pompeium sequimur?' ib. 532 sq. 'o uere *Romana* manus, quibus arma senatus | *non priuata* dedit.'

165. **admotus superis** 'brought into the presence of the gods.' **discussa.** The altar would be of turf or stones.

166. **Emathios,** 872 n. The 'fuga uictimarum' is mentioned also by Val. Max., Florus, Appian ll.c. above. **praeceps,** adverb. *praecipitem* would be more usual in prose.

167. **funestis,** as the army was doomed.

168. **scelerum superos** 'gods that prompt to crimes'; cf. II 80 'terribilesque *deos scelerum*,' e.g. Mars, one of whose attendants is 'caecum Nefas,' Stat. *Th.* 7. 48.

170. **Nefas** personified, as in VI 695 and Stat. supr. '*Fas*' was addressed by the fetials in declaring war, Livy 1. 32. 6. Similar personified abstractions abounded in the Roman pantheon. So **Furores** 'Frenzies' for which cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9. 832 sq. '*Bellipotens* cui sola uagum per inane ruenti | Ira comes, reliqui sudant ad bella *Furores.*'

171. **litasti,** opposed to Pompey's unsuccessful sacrifice.

172. **iam** 'moreover' as in Virg. *G.* 1. 383, 3. 541. **dubium** 'we know not whether it was heaven-sent portents or excess of terror made them so believe'; in parenthesis without *est*, as Ov. *Met.* 6. 678 'Erechtheus | iustitia, dubium, ualidisne potentior armis' (where, as here, *ne* is used for *an* in the second member) and elsewhere.

monstris deum, as in Virg. *Aen.* 3. 59, of the blood streaming from the trees which grew over Polydorus.

173. **multis.** What follows, appears not to refer exclusively to either army. For the whole passage Sil. It. 8. 624—55 should be compared.

174. **abruptis...conuallibus**, such as the gorge of Tempe.

175. **nocturnas...uoces**, thus anticipating the day, 480 sqq.

176. 'A torrent of blood appeared to flow through Lake Boebeis by Ossa.' So it was believed that before the Punic wars 'Caerites aquas sanguine fluxisse,' Val. Max. 1. 6. 5. For the adj. cf. 435 n.

177 sq. These are the 'interdiu tenebrae' mentioned by Florus above. The description as a whole is modelled on Hom. *Od.* 20. 351 sqq. (quoted in Crit. App.) which H. compares. **pallere**, cf. 200.

179 sqq. See Crit. App. **dementibus** and **turba** (181) are the same people. *turba* similarly replaces a substantive in I 512 (quoted on 400). **solamen**, of fear as Virg. *Aen.* 12. 110 'maestique *metum solatur* Iuli.'

182. **iugulos...pectora**, i.e. to pierce them. For **quae...quae** cf. 497 n.

183. **mentis...tumultu**, cf. 779 n.

185. **populos**, i.e. the combatants especially the Pompeians.

186. **lymphato**, 'were in a ferment of crazy fear,' of violent and seemingly causeless terrors; Livy 10. 28. 10 'ita uictorem equitatum uelut *lymphaticus pauor* dissipat.' Plutarch *Pomp.* 68, *Caesar* 43 mentions πανικοὶ θόρυβοι in Pompey's camp before the battle and so Appian *B. C.* 2. 68 and Val. Max. l. c. on 153 supra.

187 sq. The connexion is 'Why, Romans in the extreme East and West felt that something was happening.' **hospes adiacet** 'sojourns near,' the verb simply indicates geographical position; cf. *iacet* I 20 'et gens si qua *iacet* nascenti conscia Nilo,' *positus* 704 n.

189. **die**, the day-lighted sky. The earth revolving makes a 'dies' for every clime. Hence 'mutare diem' VIII 217 is the same as 'mutare caelum' Hor. *Ep.* 1. 11. 27; cf. id. *Carm.* 2. 16. 18 sq. 'quid terras *alio* calentis | *sole mutamus?*' **sidere mundi**, with especial reference to signs of the zodiac; cf. III 253 '*Aethiopumque solum quod*

non premeretur ab ulla | signiferi regione poli nisi poplite lapso | ultima curuati procederet ungula *Tauri*'; cf. VIII 337 'auersosque polos alienaque sidera quaeris.'

190. **ignorat causas**, an early instance of 'telepathy'; conversely Claudian *Epithal. Hon.* 186 sq. '*laetitiae causas ignorat* dicere miles | *laetaturque tamen*' (at Honorius' nuptials).

191. **Emathiis**, 872 n.

192. **uera fides** (726) 'if we may really trust the story.' **augur.** His name was Cornelius, Gellius *noct. Att.* 15. 18. Iulius Obsequens in his book on *prodigies* c. 125 *fin.* 'C. Cornelius augur Patauii eo die cum aues admitterent proclamauit *rem geri* et *uincere Caesarem.* Plutarch *Caesar* 47, who tells us the story was in Livy, gives his words as *καὶ δὴ περαίνεται τὸ χρῆμα καὶ συνίασιν εἰς ἔργον οἱ ἄνδρες. νικᾷς, ὦ Καῖσαρ.* Comparing these accounts with Lucan we may perhaps restore the augur's words as *res geritur; homines concurrunt; uincis, Caesar.*

193. **Aponus**, the celebrated hot spring described by Claudian in *carm. min.* 26.

194. **Antenorei** 'of Antenor' the founder of Patauium; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 242 sqq. 'Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achiuis | Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intima tutus | regna Liburnorum et fontem superare *Timaui.*' **dispergitur**, i.e. 'per ora *nouem*' Virg. l. c.

195 sq. It is interesting to watch how Lucan works up his material (above 192 n.). **uenit summa dies** is taken from Virgil *Aen.* 2. 324, **maxima** is added superfluously, and the second statement expanded by epithet and paraphrase.

197. **seu**, introducing Lucan's usual alternatives, cf. 19, 324, 674.

198 sq. appear to refer to such phenomena as foretold the defeat of Varus according to Manilius 1. 901 sq. '*arserunt toto* passim minitantia *mundo* (the sky) | *lumina* et ipsa tulit *bellum* Natura per ignes | *opposuitque suas uires* (cf. 'discordi,' 'obsistere') finemque minata est.' A portent of similar effect is recorded by Pliny in reference to the Cimbric War, *N. H.* 2. 148 'spectata *arma caelestia* ab ortu occasuque inter se *concurrentia* pulsis quae ab occasu erant.' **discordi** might be abl. but appears to be dat.; if so, **aethera** and **caelo** will denote the two warring halves of the sky. **obsistere** is perhaps technical, cf. 153 n. **polos**, the poles as well as all the rest of the sky. **numen** (Crit. App.) = *deus.*

200. **solis** after **pallore**, which means 'dimness'; cf. 'pallere' 178. **in** = '*by way of.*' **notauit** 'marked' in sense of 'signified';

but in 197, as in 203, 'marked' in sense of 'noted.' The Romans and Greeks never avoided repeating the same word, whether in the same or in a different sense. For Lucan's habit, cf. Heitl. Introd. p. 81 (*e*).

201. **explicat** 'deploys' and **egit** 'made to pass' (H.) appear to be military metaphors, each soldier in the army of days moving past their general Nature. But 'agmen *agit*' VI 218 means 'makes the army *march*'; 'agmen—agitur' 497 infr. 'the army *charges*.'

202. **Thessalicum**, cf. 435 n. **cuncta**, plur.; but see Crit. App.

203. **augure** '*by means of* skilled augurs,' the person being regarded as the instrument, *N. L. P.* 320 (1), *R.* 1220; cf. Ov. *Tr.* 1. 10. 4 'siue opus est remo, *remige* carpit iter.' So 402 n. **mens**, apparently for plur., cf. 293, II 15 'sit caeca futuri | *mens hominum* fati.'

204. **potuit**, i.e. if the spectators had known what to look for. Gellius (l. c.) says of Cornelius that 'on a sudden he said he saw afar pugnam acerrimam pugnari ac deinde alios cedere, alios urgere, caedem, fugam, tela uolantia, instaurationem pugnae, impressionem, gemitus, uulnera, proinde ut si ipse in proelio uersaretur coram, uidere sese uociferatus est ac postea subito exclamauit Caesarem uicisse.' So also Plutarch l.c. 47.

205. **summos**, *R.* 1128, *N. L. P.* 131. **quorum** with **signa** (rather than with **fortuna**) 'signs of whose fate.' In II 2 he has 'manifestaque belli | *signa dedit* mundus.'

206. **uacauit** 'found room' half way between the literal sense 'had room' II 583 sq. 'pars mundi mihi nulla *uacat*, sed tota tenetur | terra meis, quocunque iacet sub sole, tropaeis' (cf. IX 691) and the metaphorical one 'had leisure for,' 'could attend to,' V 341 sq. 'ut uestrae morti uestraeque saluti | fata *uacent*.'

207. **seras**, so *seri nepotes* Virg. *G.* 2. 58, *sera posteritas* Ov.

208. **uenient in saecula**, i.e. be immortalized; cf. X 533 'in famam et saecula mitti.'

210. **prodesse potest** is equivalent to a future.

211. **peritura**, because Pompey had been defeated.

212. **attoniti** 'spell-bound,' cf. 134 n.

213. **transmissa**=*praeterita*, a use of silver Latin, generally of *time*, e.g. Stat. *Silu.* 4. 2. 12 'steriles transmisimus annos.' It comes from *transmittere* in the sense of 'passing over' space. Great writers, e.g. Thucydides in his history of the Sicilian expedition, do produce on the reader the effects that Lucan describes.

214. **aduerso**, Introd. p. xxiii. **radiatus**, from a deponent *radior*; *Tac. dial.* 20 *fin.* 'marmore *nitent* et auro *radiantur*' and so Ov. *Pont.*

3. 4. 103 'scuta sed et galeae quamuis radientur et auro.' The act. *radio* is a myth. **ab**, poetically inserted, *R.* 1213, *N. L. P.* 320. 1.

217 sqq. All our authorities (Caesar *B. C.* 3. 88, Plutarch *Pomp.* 69, Appian 2. 76) agree that Scipio commanded the Pompeian centre. But they disagree about the wings. Plutarch says Pompey commanded on the right but Appian Lentulus; they agree in placing Domitius on the left. Appian says Pompey with Afranius τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐφύλαττεν, which may be true of Afranius, but in the case of Pompey is undoubtedly an error, due perhaps to his early retirement to the camp. Caesar does not expressly say who commanded the wings but notes that Pompey was on the left, 'in eo loco erat ipse Pompeius.' All we can conclude with certainty is that Domitius commanded one wing, and Pompey—in his absence, Lentulus—the other. Which these were must be doubtful.

219. **quarta** is a mistake for 'tertia'; cf. Introd. p. xi, n. 4. The first and third were the two legions with Pompey which had served under Caesar in the Gallic wars. **pugnax** 'indomitable,' Lucan's epith. for Domitius, inf. 600 (which explains **numine aduerso**), II 479.

221 sq. **fortissima.** Merivale *Hist. of the Romans under the Empire* (vol. II p. 270) says 'His troops were for the most part fully trained to war.' Cf. Introd. p. xvii. For **Cilicum** see Introd. p. xvi, n. 6.

223. **Scipio**, Introd. p. xv. **miles**, 87 n. **dux primus**, in the African war. There were other *duces*, e.g. Cato. **orbe**, 6 n.

224. **stagna** 'the pools of the Enipeus' overflow.' Compare the language of Livy 1. 4. 4 'super ripas Tiberis effusus *lenibus stagnis* nec adiri usquam ad *iusti* cursum poterat *amnis*' and further on with **sicci** 226 'cum fluitantem alueum quo expositi erant pueri tenuis *in sicco* aqua *destituisset*.' This flood of the Enipeus is mentioned by the military writer Frontinus *Strat.* 2. 3. 22 whose words confirm Lucan in other respects 'dextro latere sexcentos *equites propter flumen Enipea* quod et *alueo suo* et *alluuie* regionem impedierat (cf. Caesar's words 88 *impeditis ripis*) reliquum equitatum in sinistro cornu cum auxiliis omnibus locauit.' It is quite consistent with the unsettled weather of which we have other indications, 153 n. **undantis** 'rising in waves,' cf. Virg. *G.* 3. 28 '*undantem* bello *magnum*que *fluentem* | Nilum.' For the *Enipeus* see the Introd. p. xxxvi.

225. **Cappadocum**, mentioned in III 244 among Pompey's allies. **largus habenae** (Crit. App.) 'lavish of the rein,' i.e. riding with loose reins ('effusa largus habena' Sil. It. 7. 695). For the gen. 'of fulness' (*N. L. P.* 147 (*b*), cf. *R.* 1336), cp. IX 608 'fons—largus aquae.'

226. **Ponticus...eques**, e.g. the *Heniochi* '*moto* gens aspera *freno*' III 269.

227. **tetrarchae**, native rulers below the rank of *reges*. Deiotarus, the tetrarch of Galatia, supported Pompey. **reges**, e.g. Ariarathes, the king of Cappadocia. **tyranni** 'sub quibus reges sunt et tetrarchae' says the Schol.; but its precise force is not clear.

228. **purpura**, for 'purpurati'; 'purpura regum' Virg. *G.* 2. 495.

229. **Libye**, cf. III 293 sqq. **Creta**, ib. 184 sqq.

230. **Ituraeis...sagittis**, dat. after **cursus**, cf. III 468 'superest telo post uolnera *cursus*.' The archers of Ituraea in the N. of Palestine were famous, cf. Virg. *G.* 2. 448. For Pompey's allies from this region see III 213 sqq.

231. **Galli**. Raucillus and Aegus, two chieftains of the Allobroges, with their followers had deserted from Caesar. One of them fell in a cavalry skirmish just before Pharsalia, Caesar *B. C.* 3. 59 sqq., 84 fin.

232. **illic**. Observe the artificial correspondence in chiasmus *illuc—inde—inde—illic*. **pugnaces**, of the shield, cf. *Il.* 11. 32 ἀσπίδα θοῦριν. The ancients only threw away the shield when all hope of fighting was over. **commouit** 'brandished.' **caetras**. These Spanish targeteers from the defeated armies of Afranius and Petreius, in which were '*caetratae* ulterioris Hispaniae cohortes circiter LXXX' Caesar *B. C.* 1. 39, cf. ib. 48 '*caetrati* citerioris Hispaniae,' came with the regular troops who are mentioned by Caesar in 3. 78 as posted on Pompey's right 'Ciliciensis legio coniuncta cum *cohortibus Hispanis* quas transductas ab Afranio docuimus' (the passage where he did this has been lost) 'in dextro cornu erant collocatae.'

233 sq. **gentes**, the non-Roman world as is shown by **triumphos**, for which compare II 644 'omnes redeant in castra triumphi.' Their total annihilation would 'use up all the stuff of triumphs'; cf. 72 n.

236. **ad segetum raptus**. Plutarch says Caesar was going to Scotussa *Caes.* 68. Caesar does not mention his destination (2. 85); one of his objects was 'ut mouendis castris pluribusque adeundis locis *commodiore frumentaria re uteretur*.' Appian 2. 68 init. says Caesar had sent out three legions to forage the previous night. These discrepancies are quite unimportant.

240. **aeger...morae** 'sick of delay,' moram *aegre* ferens. The gen. (of 'cause') is Silver Latin; cf. Flor. 3. 17. 9 'Drusum...aegrum rerum temere motarum,' Sil. It. 3. 72, 13. 52. The gen. of 'part concerned,' *animi, consilii*, is more classical.

241. **exiguo tractu** 'of even scant duration,' the abl. of description (cf. 356), rare in Lucan according to Heitl. Introd. p. civ. For the emphasis cf. 128 n.

242. **damnare nefas**, so V 471. **discrimina**, 109 n.

244. **et fati**, Crit. App. Comp. IV 393 'mundi *nutante ruina*,' 504 n.

245. **paulum**=*paulisper*, e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 9. 296 '*paulum* aspectu conterritus haesit.'

246. **spondere**. We need not suppose that *spondere*, to *warrant* or *engage*, is here used for *believing firmly*. Caesar's sanguine spirit may be said with perfect appropriateness and more point to 'warrant him success'; see also on 758. For the poetical inf. with **audax**, cf. I 474, 560.

247. **stetit in dubio**, a variation on *fuit in dubio*; cf. Lucr. 3. 836. **fata**. Their past history showed both unconquered.

248. **mersa** 'sunken,' 'buried,' opposed to **prosilit**, cf. Rutilius I 129 sq. 'quae *mergi* nequeunt, nisu maiore resurgunt | *exiliunt*que imis altius acta uadis,' from which it would appear that R. read 'merses profundo; pulchrior *exilit*' in Hor. *Carm.* 4. 4. 65.

249. **melior**, for the constr. cf. Virg. *G.* I. 286 'nona fug*ae melior*,' Quint. I. 3. 8 '*acuendis* puerorum *ingeniis non inutiles* lusus.'

250. **r. fortuna m.**, explained by 253. Compare V 291 sqq., to which allusion appears to be made, 'ingrato meritorum iudice uirtus | nostra perit: quidquid gerimus, *fortuna* uocatur: | nos *fatum* sciat esse *suum*.'

252. Cf. IV 484 '*accersas* dum *fata* manu' (of a suicide). For the form of the verb see Crit. App.

253. **sit** would be *erit* in a principal sentence. It corresponds in present sequence to *esset* (132 n.) in past sequence.

254. The scene is described by Lucan I 387 sq. 'elatasque alte, quaecunque ad bella uocaret, | promisere manus.'

256. **remeare**, esp. frequent of a victor's return. Caesar's triumph, having been forbidden by the Senate, could not be celebrated until he had won a decisive battle. **triumphos**, half personified; so *bellum* in Flor. 2. 2. 17 'iam in Africam nauigabat *bellum*.'

257 sq. See Crit. App.

259. The evidence of destiny, viz. the event will decide which of the two rivals has the juster cause (cf. I 126 sqq. below). **quis**= *uter*, as in 281. The confusion of duality and plurality in pronouns and pronominal adjectives begins in Classical and spreads in Silver

Latin: *qui* (rel.) and *uter*, *alius* and *alter*, *quis* and *uter*, *quisque* and *uterque*. Two of the earliest exx. are Prop. 3. 10. 28 '*quem* grauius pennis uerberet ille puer,' Virg. *Aen.* 12. 719, 727, quoted by H. on I 126 '*quis iustius* induit arma | scire nefas: magno se iudice *quisque* tuetur; | uictrix causa deis placuit sed uicta Catoni.'

260. The conquered are always wrong.

262. See Crit. App.

263. The meaning is that after a defeat none of his opponents are innocent in the conqueror's eyes and he is *then* sole judge (**belli mutato iudice**).

264 sq. 'It is not *my* fortunes that are at stake; it is you that I implore to be free men, to be sovran over the world.' The thought and the emphasis are both highly artificial. For a similar 'prayer' see 68 sqq. supra.

267. **toga**. Cf. Manilius' words of Caesar 'cum bene compositis uictor ciuilibus armis | iura *togae* regeret' 4. 58 sq. **modicum** 'average' 'ordinary' Gk. μέσος πολίτης (as Thuc. 6. 54. 2), then 'humble' as Juv. 5. 108 '*modicis* quae mittebantur amicis | a Seneca.' **componere**, *me* is carried on from 266. The metaphor appears to be from arranging attire (so Ov. *Met.* 4. 318 'se composuit') and the sense to be the same as in Sen. *de uita beata* 8. 3 '*compositum ordinatumque* fore talem uirum.'

268. **dum** 'if only.' **nihil esse recuso**, i.e. I am prepared to be anything. A somewhat similar expression is that of Virgil *Aen.* 7. 309 'quae memet *in omnia* uerti.' Cf. also 759.

269. 'Yours be the monarchy, the odium mine.' Cf. Livy 24. 25. 2 'quid enim sua sponte Hieronymum, puerum ac uixdum pubescentem facere potuisse, tutores ac magistros eius *sub aliena inuidia regnasse*.'

270. **spem mundi** 'the world you hope for,' cf. II 321 'totius sibi ius promittere mundi.' If the phrase will bear analysis, it = 'your hope (object of hope) which is the world' (gen. of definition, a gen. which Latin uses freely, e.g. 'numerus duorum' Ov. 'the number two').

271. **aderit** 'will be before you' 'will meet you'; cf. IX 883 sq. 'omni Fortunam prouocat hora, | omnibus unus *adest* fatis' (of Caesar).

272. **uix arma ferens**, cf. Claud. *Bell. Gild.* 441 '*arma oneri*, fuga praesidio.' For the incompatibility of athletic and military training H. quotes Plut. *Philopoemen* 3 ἀθλητικὸν στρατιωτικοῦ σῶμα καὶ βίον διαφέρειν τοῖς πᾶσι. **turbae**, a gen. like *mundi* 270 n.

273. **non illa** as in Hor. *Carm.* 4. 9. 50 sqq. 'peiusque leto *flagitium timet, | non ille* pro caris amicis | aut patria timidus perire'

and more than once in Virgil. **tubas** sounding for the onset, cf. Flor. 4. 12. 15 'nec *tubam sustinere* potuerunt.'

274. **suum**, nedum hostium. **ciuilia**, i.e. only a small part of the fighting will be with citizens.

276. **Romanum**, equivalent to an objective genitive; not a common use with this adj. **obteret** 'trample down'; Livy 27. 41. 10 'ita pecorum modo incompositos toto passim se campo fudisse ut *sterni obterique*, priusquam instruantur, possint,' Juv. 3. 161 'uulgi *obtritum* perit omne cadauer.'

277. **famosa** 'of ill fame,' its usual sense.

278. **ferri motu**, cf. 767 n.

279. **tot**, three, 14 n.

280. **curribus**, 18 n. **non esse** 'are not enough for even one triumph.' Caesar did not in fact triumph for Pharsalia, 42 n.

281. **Armenios**, the contingent from Armenia *cis Euphratem* under Taxiles and from Armenia *trans Euphratem* under Megabates (Appian 2. 71). **mouet**, the subject is the next clause. **cuius** = *utrius* 259 n.

282 sq. **emptum** 'would spend a drop of his blood to make Pompey sovereign of Italy.' The passive part. is a common construction after *uelle*, and **praeponere** is used as a noun. For the argument cf. Tac. *Agr.* 32 'nisi si Gallos Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienae sanguinem commodent—fide et affectu teneri putatis.'

284. **dominosque grauantur** 'chafe at their rule,' cf. V 258 'regnorum iniusta *grauari*.'

285. **quos** 'Pompeium qui subactis his imperauit' Schol.

286. **quarum**, Crit. App.

287. **bellis**, 112 n. **ensem** 'sword *stroke*' 72 n.

289. Cf. Sil. It. 9. 246 sq. 'et se *cognoscere* iactat | *qua dextra* ueniant stridentis sibila teli.' For the explanatory inf. cf. Prop. 1. 9. 5 'non me Chaoniae uincant in amore columbae | dicere, quos' &c.

290. **signa**. He must needs mention them, *v.* 291, leaving nothing to the imagination.

292. **uideor** sc. *mihi*.

293. **simul** apparently gathers the *reges*, *senatus* and *populi* into one picture. **sparsum...corpus** 'the mangled bodies' sing for plur. 102 n. Juv. l. c. on 276.

295. Cf. II 439 '*in* arma *furens*.'

298. **limite** properly of the balk or path across a field or vineyard. *Here of the* narrow space between the armies.

300. **donare** 'give as I please,' as an absolute master; cf. 710.

301. **quone.** The enclitic *-ne* is like *-nam* sometimes suffixed to interrogatives, apparently for emphasis. So in X 99 quantosne? (H.). For another use cf. *Classical Review* vol. IX pp. 15 sqq. **poli motu** 'shifting of the firmament' as distinguished from the change in the position of a particular star.

302. The meaning is 'How is the order of the universe changed that such important issues should be decided in Thessaly?'

303. **poena**, i.e. death 470. **paratur**, Crit. App.

304. **Caesareas**, i.e. in store for Caesar, cf. 94 n., for the adj. 435 n.

305. **effusa**, i.e. flung *on the ground*, cf. 71 n.

306. The allusion is to the massacre of the Samnite and Lucanian prisoners in the Saepta by Sulla B.C. 83, cf. II 196 sq. 'tum flos Hesperiae, Latii iam sola iuuentus, | concidit et miserae maculauit *ouilia* Romae.' **proelia** is ironical; cf. 533 n.

307. **Sullano.** Pompey had been Sulla's lieutenant.

308. **secura**, epithet 'transferred' from Caesar to *sors*, 'without a thought' 'untroubled'; cf. 613, 687. H. quotes Petronius c. 123 l. 203 'magnam nixus in hastam | horrida *securis* frangebat gressibus arua.' **manebit**, fut. because of its reference to the future action *respexerit* 310.

309. **manu**, of suicide, IV 577 'seruitium fugisse *manu*,' Florus 2. 13. 83 gives a report that at Munda Caesar actually 'de extremis secum cogitasse manifestoque uultu fuisse quasi *occupare* mortem *manu* uellet.' Similarly Suet. *Iul.* 36 'iterum in Hispania ultimo proelio cum desperatis retro etiam de consciscenda nece cogitauit.'

311. **ab aethere**, i.e. from their proper sphere.

312. **labor** 'suffering,' especially that of war. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12. 727 'quem damnat *labor*' (the hard fight) and 93 n.

314. **tulerunt.** The subj. would be more usual even in poetry.

315 sq. **nefas** 'unpardonable sin.' **arto...loco.** The reference is to the two fights round Dyrrhachium in which Caesar lost over 1000 men; see Long's *Decline of the Roman Republic* vol. V pp. 177—184. Caesar *B. C.* 3. 72 speaks of the '*iniquitatem* loci atque angustias praeoccupatis castris et *ancipitem terrorem* intra extraque munitiones.' **uetita...moueri** 'unable to stir'; cf. VIII 82 'summus et augeri uetitus dolor.' Lucan is fond of this participle. **quanto**, Crit. App.

319. **hostis**, i.e. *Romani;* see below 325 and note. **ciuis** and *therefore to be spared;* compare Appian quoted on 325 and Florus 4.

2. 50 'multus in eo proelio Caesar fuit mediusque inter inperatorem et militem; uoces quoque obequitantis exceptae, altera cruenta sed docta et ad uictoriam efficax, 'miles, faciem feri'; altera ad iactationem composita '*parce ciuibus*' cum ipse sequeretur.' Florus is no friend to the Caesars.

320. **imago** '*thought* of affection' 'natural feeling.' So Greek *ἰδέα*. This is the meaning in Virg. *Aen.* 9. 294 'animum patriae strinxit *pietatis imago*' as Henry points out. **non** qualifies **ulla**.

321. **fronte** as *frons* 220.

322. **turbate** is translated 'disfigure' by H. who quotes from the lexx. Stat. *Theb.* 9. 745 'prima Tanagraeum *turbauit* harundo Coroebum.' We must have stronger evidence than this passage to give such an unusual meaning to the verb. *turbauit* may well mean the same as in ib. 9. 871 sq. 'tunc miser et frenos *turbatus* et arma remisit, | *uulneris impatiens*,' explained by ib. 2. 671 '*turbati*que *gradus*.' And here it appears better to take it as 'rout.' Cf. Ov. *Met.* 12. 133 sqq. 'capulo caua tempora pulsat | cedentemque sequens instat *turbat*que ruitque | attonitoque negat requiem.' **uoltus** may carry an allusion to the '*faciem feri*' referred to in 575.

323 sq. mean 'whether those whom he has to attack are kinsmen or not.'

324. **ibit**=*iturus est*. So **uiolabit** 'whether his stroke is to harm none dear to him.'

325. This line has often been taken with 323 sq. as meaning 'whether he killed a kinsman or no, let him put down the slaughter of the unknown enemy to his credit as a crime,' or in other words let him pretend that he has killed a kinsman whether he has or not, in order to gain the reward; and as a parallel is quoted the story of the soldier who in the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian asked to be rewarded for killing his brother, Tac. *Hist.* 3. 51. As, however, to say nothing of the contorted sense, this is entirely at variance with the rest of Caesar's speech, I have followed Bentley's interpretation in the main. He explains the text by reference to a passage of Appian, which I quote nearly entire in order to show its complete agreement with Lucan, 2. 74 *καὶ τάδε μοι περὶ μόνων ἐστὶ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἐπεὶ τῶν γε συμμάχων μηδὲ φροντίζετε μηδ' ἐν λόγῳ τίθεσθε μηδὲ μάχεσθε ὅλως ἐκείνοις— ἔχεσθε οὖν τῶν Ἰταλῶν μόνων κἂν οἱ σύμμαχοι δίκην κυνῶν περιθέωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ θορυβοποιῶσι. τρεψάμενοι δ' αὐτούς, τῶνδε μὲν ὡς συγγενῶν φειδώμεθα τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους ἐς τὴν τῶνδε κατάπληξιν ἐξεργασώμεθα.* The orders then are: to disregard the auxiliaries until the legionaries are routed; when that is secured, to spare

them (318 sq.) but to slaughter the auxiliaries (275 sqq.) in order to inspire the Romans with terror. I have however changed the punctuation (cf. Crit. App.) because 323 sqq. refer to Romans and so belong to 322. It is absurd to say 'whether he is going to attack a kinsman or not, let him count the killing of an *alien* enemy a crime.' Mistake has arisen through its not being observed that **siue—seu** as usual, cf. 19, 197 n., follow the clause to which they refer and that Lucan having used the indefinite *quis* does not go back to the second person, *imputate* as it would be, but continues with the metrically convenient third.

ignoti 'foreign'; so in I 169 sq. 'antiquos Curiorum passa ligones | longa sub *ignotis* extendere rura colonis.' **iugulum** 'the killing,' cf. 593 n.

326 sqq. Here again Lucan and Appian (2. 74 καθέλετέ μοι προιόντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τὰ τείχη τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν τάφρον ἐγχώσατε) are in striking agreement, no one else mentioning this order of Caesar. Their account is contradicted by Caesar's own statement 3. 89 'cohortes VII (II MSS) castris praesidio reliquerat'; and it is, as Mr B. Perrin *American Journ. of Philology* vol. V pp. 325 sqq. has shown, most improbable. Appian, he thinks, derived it from Lucan. Cf. Introd. p. xxvi n.

327. **plenis** 'with their tale of maniples complete,' cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7. 53 '*plenis* iam nubilis annis' (of full age). Appian gives different reasons for the order, of which one is quoted below. **non sparsa**, i.e. in a solid array; cf. X 436 (on 337 below).

328. **ne**, Crit. App. **castris** 'quarters,' practically = *tentoriis*, cf. *tendetis* &c. **tendetis.** The regular word for encamping, not avoided by poets. For the sense cf. Appian l. c. ἵνα...οἱ πολέμιοι... συνῶσιν ὅτι πρὸς ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων σταθμεῦσαι.

330. **trahit** well expresses the discipline of Caesar's troops; each soldier's duty draws him mechanically. **raptim**, so Caesar c. 85 '*confestim*que expeditas copias educit.'

331. **Ceres.** The usual custom before a battle, so Vegetius 3. c. 11 'ueteribus saeculis mos fuit parco cibo curatos milites ad certamen educere,' cf. Val. Fl. 5. 215 sq. 'dona dehinc Bacchi casusque ut firmet in omnes | *rapta Ceres*.' But the hardened veterans of Caesar, who had not long had a meal—they were on the point of setting out as Caesar says l. c., the signal had been given for departure and the tents were struck (*detensis tabernaculis*, which by the way may have given rise to the story of the dismantling of the camp)—would hardly have wanted a *second refreshment.* **capiunt**, i.e. the omen in Caesar's last words;

in **calcatis** they suit the action to the word. As however *accipere* is more usual in this sense, some explain it of 'taking the omens'; which a scholiast says the soldiers themselves did *in transglutiendo* (a word of the camp 'while gulping down their rations') and hence 'non fuit opus *arte ducis*.' See also Crit. App. **belli**, 112 n.

333. The kernel of truth here has been pointed out on 330 n. Lucan conceives of the Caesarians as troops of Stoic philosophers.

334 sq. Had they all been Caesars and as eager as he to be king of Rome, they could not have rushed to battle more impetuously. **locasses**, Crit. App.

337. **in rectum**, and so there was to be a pitched battle; cf. X 436 sqq. 'cum procul a muris acies non sparsa maniplis | nec uaga conspicitur, sed iustos qualis ad hostes | recta fronte uenit.'

339. **corde gelato**, the opposite of II 557 sq. 'feruidus haec iterum circa praecordia sanguis | incaluit,' cf. Stat. *Theb.* 2. 544 '*sanguis*que *in corda* (so we should read) *gelari*.' *gelo* is a Silver Latin word.

340. **tanto duci**, with *omen*; cf. Crit. App.

341. **premit**, cf. 248.

342. **sublimi**, more common of the rider than the horse. **praeuectus equo**, in Virg. *Aen.* 7. 166 the phrase means 'riding *ahead*,' here 'riding *along*' so IX 1003 'Asiam (the coast) praeuehitur.

344. **effundite** 'put forth,' as in Livy 10. 28. 6 'quantumcunque uirium habuit certamine primo *effudit*,' Ov. *Met.* I 278 '*uires effundite* uestras | (sic opus est).'

346. **trahit**, 46 n.

347. **qui** follows *quisquis* as in 756. **deserta**, which he has had to abandon. There is no allusion to the common meaning of *deserere pignus*.

348. **medio campo** 'in the open field.' The prizes of games were always set out in full view; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5. 109 sq. 'munera principio ante oculos *circo*que locantur | in *medio*,' Hom. *Il.* 23. 704 which H. quotes. For the sense cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12. 80 '*illo quaeratur* coniunx Lauinia *campo*.'

351. Caesar is to be the victim whose blood will 'seal Rome's covenant,' or the settlement which will follow on a Pompeian victory. By putting this forecast in Pompey's mouth, Lucan intentionally suggests the irony of fate, cf. IX 1021 '*hoc* (Pompey's) tecum (Caesar) percussum est *sanguine foedus*' and X 371. For **sancire** cf. Livy 8. 7. 19 'cum aut *morte tua sancienda* sint consulum imperia aut impunitate in perpetuum abroganda.'

353. **fatis** 'by a natural death'; Virg. *Aen.* 4. 696 'quia nec *fato* merita nec morte peribat' (and Henry's note), or, as Ovid says, 'euntibus ordine fatis' *Her.* 1. 101. **potuere,** as at Naples, 34 n. The vanity is true to life; cf. 378, 664.

355. **uincere,** i.e. ensure victory.

357. **sponte** without *sua* is poetical and Silver Latin. **sacra,** if really referring to **imagine,** will mean belonging to the 'worshipped' dead; cf. Stat. *Silu.* 2. 7. 116 (of Lucan himself) 'tu magna *sacer* et superbus umbra.' Then **antiquus** must mean 'of the old school,' 'recalling antiquity,' a term of praise, but it seems at least equally probable that Lucan has inverted the epithets and that *antiqua imagine* 'with ancient marks' of ancient lineage is intended, much as in II 244 sq. he writes 'tu mente *labantem* | *derige* me, *dubium* certo tu robore *firma*,' when he would have done better to write *labantem firma, dubium derige.* In this case compare for *sacer* 342. *sacra...imagine* is of course abl. of description (241 n.). **miles** means they serve in the ranks, cf. 87 n.

358. **reduces,** to be taken with all three names, which Lucan joins again at VI 785 sqq. 'uidi Decios, natumque patremque | lustrales bellis animas, flentemque Camillum | et Curios.'

359. **uouentis,** equivalent to a relative sentence or the Gk. part. with the art., a use much developed in Silver Latin, cf. Heitl. Introd. p. 106, 'currus *ornante* toga' 18 n. = *quae ornat, pulsans* 608 = *quae pulsabat.* It occurs earlier, e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 34. 7 *diuidens.*

360. **hinc starent.** Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 4. 58 'hinc auidus stetit | Volcanus.' **primo Oriente.** So '*primis a Gadibus*,' IX 414. Either point is 'first' or 'furthest' according to the way it is regarded.

362 sq. **manus** 'bands' as **exciuere** 'called out' shows.

363. **comprensum,** Crit. App. **limite,** the zodiac being regarded as the sun's path (cf. 867 n.), Ov. *Met.* 2. 130 'sectus in obliquo est lato curuamine limes.'

364. **sub Noton** 'extending up to' (so H. rightly); cf. X 48 'licet usque *sub Arcton* | regnemus Zephyrique domos.' The Greek acc. *Noton* (also V 542, IX 539, 695, X 243) is not quoted from other writers. **hominum.** For the partitive gen. cf. VIII 812 'quidquid in Euro | *regnorum* Boreaque iacet.' For **sumus** cf. 400.

365. **superfusis,** pouring beyond them, outflanking them, *super* = 'beyond,' as VIII 164 'mundi | arva *super* nimios soles Austrumque iacentis,' and other places. The participle would mean more naturally 'pouring *over* them,' as Livy 39. 49. 5 '*iacentem* hostes *superfusi* oppresserunt.' **collectum,** forced into a small space, 'penned in';

cf. Livy 2. 50. 7 'coeuntibusque Etruscis iam continenti agmine armatorum saepti, quo magis se hostis inferebat, cogebantur breuiore spatio et ipsi *orbem colligere.*'

368. **non sufficit,** for Caesar's numerical inferiority see Introd.

369. **urbis,** Rome.

371. **uetitum** 'prevented,' 316 n.

372. **pedibus,** as suppliants, cf. 71 'adfusi.'

373. For the gen. with **metuens** (an 'active participle' *N. L. P.* 147 (a)) cf. II 233 and Hor. *Serm.* 2. 2. 110 'metuens futuri' and elsewhere. **Romam.** Rome is personified. So in the imitation of Sil. It. 4. 410 sq. when the personification is much more distinct 'ipsam *turrigero* portantem *uertice muros* (a mural crown) | *credite* summissas *Romam* nunc *tendere palmas.*' The worship of *dea Roma* among the Asiatics began with the people of Smyrna, who erected a temple to her in 195 B.C. Tac. *Ann.* 4. 56. Compare Heitl. Introd. p. 50 and above 31.

375. **adferre** 'bring with them,' cf. Ov. *A. A.* 2. 159 sq. '*blanditias* molles auremque iuuantia uerba | *adfer*, ut *aduentu* laeta sit illa tuo.' **libera,** to be taken with *mori* as well as *nasci*, ἀπὸ κοινοῦ as it is called; cf. 358, 462 (Crit. App.).

378. **salua maiestate,** cf. 680.

379. **nisi uincitis.** For the vivid pres. cf. 114 n. **exsul,** 106 n.

380. **pudor** 'a reproach to you'; cf. V 59 'Fortunae Ptolemaee *pudor.*' **ultima** 'the last extremities' (cf. 444) explained by line 382.

381. **extremi cardinis** 'the lowest arc.' Mr Heitland (pp. 90 sqq.) has pointed out that this is a metaphor derived from 'Stoic astrology.' *cardo* is used for 'half a great circle' by the Stoic astrologer-poet Manilius. The *extremus*, or *ultimus*, *cardo* is the *lower* half of that great circle which passes through the East and West points of the horizon and the zenith. This *cardo* consequently contains the nadir or lowest point and is described by Manilius 2. 796 sq. as that 'in quo *principium* est *reditus finis*que *cadendi* | sideribus, pariterque *occasus* cernit et *ortus.*' 'In it the stars cease to sink and begin to return, and it lies equally between the West and the East.' This *cardo* had for its province 'rerum summas finemque laborum | coniugia atque epulas *extremaque tempora uitae*' ib. 835 sq.

383. **flagrant,** cf. 559 n.

384. **timeret,** i.e. Pompey. The subj. is one of quotation, *placuit* conveying the soldiers' resolution, *N. L. P.* 399 (1).

385 sq. **procurrunt.** Cf. Livy 35. 5. 2 'ne certaminis studio *procurrerent* priusquam datum signum esset,' IV 772 sq. 'neque enim licuit *procurrere* contra | et miscere manus.' The statement is only true of the Caesarian line; see Introd. p. xxviii. **motu irarum** 'tumult of passion,' cf. Lucr. 'irarum fluctus.' For *ira* cf. 103 n.

387. **facient.** The sense of *damnum* must be got out of *expleat—reparet.* **quidquid**, a word of which Lucan is fond, seems here to be due to a straining after exact expression, 'an amount of mischief which no age can repair, *whatever that may be*,' 'the full total that'; cf. VIII 179 sqq. '*quidquid* descendet ab arbore summa | Arctophylax propiorque mari Cynosura feretur, | in Syriae portus tendet ratis,' 'by the exact amount that Arctophylax sinks below the mast head —will the ship move towards Syria.'

389. **ut**, concessive. For the punctuation see Crit. App.

390. Pharsalia will be fatal to multitudes yet unborn, who would have been the children and descendants of the men cut off in that battle. **aeui uenientis in orbem**, a strange phrase if it means (1) 'the generation coming into the world' as we say, and hardly less strange if it means (2) 'time revolving in a circle,' i.e. the whole cycle of ages. (The doctrine of cycles of time was a Stoic one, Zeller *Stoics &c.* p. 116.) Perhaps Lucan's language was influenced by some reminiscence of the scene described by Virgil *Aen.* 6. 748—760; cf. especially the phrase 'ubi mille rotam uoluere per annos' compared with Silius It. 6. 121 'rota uoluitur aeui.' In VIII 622 sqq. future ages in all parts of the world are said to watch Pompey's murder 'saecula Romanos numquam tacitura labores | attendunt *aeuum*que *sequens* speculatur *ab omni* | *orbe* ratem Phariamque fidem.'

391. **natale** for *natali* perhaps here only in literature but more than once on inscriptions. **feret** 'carry off,' Virg. *Ecl.* 5. 34 'te fata *tulerunt*.'

392. 'The whole Latin race will be a name.' **Latinum nomen** 'the Latin stock.' So *Caeninum nomen* Livy 1. 10, *Volscum nomen* ib. 2. 35, *Romanum nomen* Ov. *Met.* 1. 200 etc.; and in other connexions Virg. *Aen.* 10. 618 'nostra deducit origine *nomen*' (cf. *Torquata nomina*, inf. 584 n.). Lucan may have in his mind the *nomen Latinum* as distinguished from the *socii* in the earlier history of Rome; but see below. **fabula**, cf. Pers. 5. 152 'cinis et manes et *fabula fies*.' **Gabios**, H. quotes Hor. *Ep.* 1. 11. 7 '*Gabiis* desertior atque Fidenis.' **Veios.** It is somewhat strange to find this Etruscan city, *for whose overthrow* Rome rather than Pharsalia was responsible,

appearing in the midst of a catalogue of places belonging to the Latin League. Lucan however appears to be making a list of deserted cities in the neighbourhood of Rome. Veii's desolation is mentioned by Propertius 4 (5). 10. 29 sq. 'nunc intra muros pastoris bucina lenti | cantat, et in uestris ossibus arua metunt.' **Coram**, now *Cori*; cf. the enumeration in Virg. *Aen*. 6. 776 sq. 'Pometios castrumque Inuri Bolamque Coramque: | haec tunc nomina erunt, nunc sunt sine nomine terrae.'

393 sq. See Crit. App. **uix** with **poterunt**.

395. **uacuum**, i.e. *cultoribus*, cf. 399. The depopulation of Italy is referred to again in I 14—32, and assigned to the same cause. It is a constant theme of complaint in Roman writers. **quod**, Crit. App.

coacta 'forced upon him'; cf. Ov. *Tr*. 4. 10. 35 'claui mensura *coacta* est,' and *deditio coacta*: in these cases the verbal makes the transference easier.

396. **Numam**. The institution of the *feriae Latinae* (cf. I 550, V 402) is ascribed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus to Tarquinius Superbus (4. 49. 2); but, as H. says, citing Plutarch *Num*. 14, Numa was regarded by the Romans as the founder of such ceremonies in general. **senator**. Lucan's language implies that the Senate, as well as the two Consuls, were obliged to be present.

397. **monimenta rerum**, properly 'reminders of events,' and so 'memorials of past greatness.' Somewhat differently in VIII 807 'adde actus tantos *monimentaque* maxima *rerum*,' of the marks left in history.

398. **crimen** 'in these desolate cities we see our civil guilt.'

400. **humani**. See I 511 sq. 'urbem populis uictisque frequentem | gentibus et *generis*, coeat si turba, capacem | *humani*,' where we have a different exaggeration. He draws no clear distinction between Romans and non-Romans, cf. 844 *Latiae—turbae* which is not limited to Romans. For the reason see 542 sq.

402. **uincto fossore** 'chained gangs of slaves'; cf. Flor. 3. 1. 9 'catenatos cultores.' For the abl. see 203 n. and for the sing. 102 n.

404. **in nullos** 'on the heads of none.' This, ordinarily a mitigation, is twisted by Lucan into an aggravation of the mishap.

frequentem 'peopled,' apparently contrasted with **repletam** 'replenished.'

405. **faece**. So Juv. 3. 61 cited by H. 'quota portio *faecis* Achaei!' Similarly Piso is quoted by Tacitus as calling Athens a *colluuies nationum*.

406. **eo ne** 'to such a point of ruin *that*...not.' So Mr Parry takes the passage, which is generally misunderstood. The consecutive sense of *ne*, which was developed out of the final sense, is extremely rare, unless a verb like *efficio* precede (*N. L. P.* 393, 455) and the action may be regarded as purposed as well as resulting. But see Tac. *Ann.* 14. 7 'at Neroni, nuntios patrati facinoris opperienti, adfertur euasisse leui ictu sauciam et hactenus adito discrimine *ne* auctor dubitaretur.' The use here however is stranger. **corpore,** Crit. App.

408. **nomina**, perhaps plur. because *Cannae* is plur., but see 775 n.

410 sq. **signauit.** The 18th of July was marked in the Calendar as the *dies Alliensis.* It does not appear however that the date of Cannae, Aug. 2nd, was similarly marked. And the statement that Rome 'chose to ignore' (*nescire*) Pharsalia is untrue, as it is marked as a *victory* in the *Fasti Amiternini* and the *Fasti Antiates* and was probably so marked in the *Fasti Allifani.*

411. **pro tristia fata**, so in V 57, VI 305.

412. **tractu.** For *trahere* of 'inhaling' cf. Ov. *Met.* 2. 230 'feruentisque auras, uelut e fornace profundo, | *ore trahit.*' **fluentis** 'spreading' of the imperceptible diffusion of plague-seeds through the air by the *aura fluens* (cf. VIII 247). H. well refers to VI 89, 'traxit iners caelum *fluidae* contagia *pestis* | obscuram in nubem' with which compare Lucr. 6. 922 sqq. and 1120.

413. **insanam** 'maddening.' Cf. Shakespeare *Macbeth* I 3 'the *insane* herb that takes the reason prisoner'; H. cf. 'uaesana fames' Virg. *Aen.* 9. 340. **permissas** 'abandoned,' 'surrendered.' V 694 sq. 'mundi iam summa tenentem | permisisse mari.' Cf. 731 n.

414. **laturos.** To see in the fut. part. a reference to the imaginary supposition contained in 'poss*ent*' gives an insipid sense; and the fut. part. in poets often appears to differ little from a present, e.g. Enn. *dub.* 7 'carbasus alta uolat, pandam *ductura* carinam.' **plena,** Crit. App.

415. **explere,** i.e. fill the gaps made by these disasters, 387 n.

417. **explicat,** cf. 201 n. **eripiens** 'while snatching them away.' The sense is that differently expressed by Manilius 2. 8 'patriae qui iura petenti, | *dum dabat*, *eripuit*.'

419. **quam magna cadas** 'what greatness falls with thee.' 'How great thou art *in thy fall*' hardly hits the meaning of the Latin. Scott *Marmion* canto II st. 28 'How false the charge, how *true* he *fell*, | This guilty packet best can tell.'

420. **possedit...cucurrit.** The somewhat abrupt change to the third

person (cf. 722 n.) is doubtless due to the inconvenient forms of the second person.

421. **gentes**. 'In every year throughout the ages you subjugated some nation.' **omnibus annis** (Crit. App.) is pointedly repeated in 426; cf. 303 and 470.

422. **geminum...axem** 'towards both (North and South) poles.' So IX 542 *axis uterque*.

424. **nox...dies**. The sense intended seems to be that, as night and day pass over the earth, the lands on which at any moment the sun has not risen, as well as those on which it has, belong to Rome. Cf. Petron. 119. 1 'Orbem iam totum uictor Romanus habebat | qua mare, qua terrae, qua *sidus currit utrumque*' (sun and moon). **aether**. For its revolution see 3 n.

425. **omniaque**, cf. Ov. *F.* 1. 85 sq. 'Iuppiter arce sua totum cum spectet in orbem, | *nil nisi Romanum* quod *tueatur* habet' (H.).

426. **retro**. The metaphor appears to be taken from a rapid river which, through the breaking of a tow-rope or other cause, sweeps a boat and its crew back down the stream. Cf. Verg. *G.* 1. 199 sqq. 'sic omnia fatis | in peius ruere ac *retro* sublapsa *referri*. | non aliter quam qui *aduerso* uix flumine lembum | remigiis subigit, si bracchia forte remisit, | atque illum in praeceps prono rapit alueus amni.' Aristides *Panath.* p. 118 (Jebb) ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη πάντα, ὥσπερ κάλου ῥαγέντος, ἐχώρησεν ὀπίσω καὶ διελέλυτο Ἀμαζόσιν ἡ ἀρχή. **par** 'a match for,' i.e. nullifying their effects. For sense cf. VIII 706 (on 490 inf.).

427. **Emathiae**, 872 n. The following lines give the effects of Pharsalia. Rome's conquering and civilising career is stayed (427—430). She cannot resent her wrongs (431). Her very freedom is gone (432—5).

429. **errare**, of nomad tribes, cf. III 267 '*errantes* Scythiae populi.' **Dahas**, called *sparsos*, Seneca *Thyest.* 370.

430. **Sarmaticum** 'in Sarmatia'; cf. 435 n. **succinctus**, i.e. with his toga arranged in the *cinctus Gabinus* as he drives the plough which marks the line of the new city's walls.

431. **quod**. The change to *quod* with ind. seems intentional. These consequences are much more present to the mind. **saeuas**. The retribution would be of the same character as the wrong; so 'uices superbae' Hor. *Carm.* 1. 28. 32.

433 sqq. **Tigrim** and **Scythicum** (435) are explained and defended by VIII 212 sqq. (superest) 'Eoam temptare fidem populosque bibentis | Euphraten et adhuc securum a Caesare Tigrim. | ne pigeat Magno

quaerentem fata remotas | *Medorum* penetrare domos *Scythicos*que recessus | et totum mutare diem uocesque superbo | Arsacidae perferre meas' which clearly show that Lucan did not distinguish between Parthia and Scythia, cf. II 553. As H. says, he appears to be thinking of Virg. *Ecl.* 1. 63 'aut *Ararim Parthus* bibet aut *Germania Tigrim*,' as in 435 he imitates l. 28 of the same eclogue.

434. **iugulo** 'by risking our throats,' cf. 644.

435. **Germanum Scythicumque.** Lucan uses the adjectives formed from proper names with a considerable degree of freedom. Examples from this book are found in 150 *Pallenaea*, 176 *Ossaeam*, 202 *Thessalicum*, 304 *Caesareas*, 430 *Sarmaticum*.

436. **uellem**, cf. Crit. App. **incognita**, i.e. a town (*moenia*) previously unknown to Italian (*nostris*) tribes. Cf. Ov. *M.* 1. 439 'populisque nouis, incognite serpens, | terror eras.' The reference is of course to the *asylum*, Ov. *F.* 3. 431 sq. 'Romulus, ut saxo lucum circumdedit alto, | 'quilibet huc' dixit 'confuge, tutus eris.''

437. **ut primum**, 506. **laeuo**, lit. 'on the left' and so 'ill-omened' that is, taking the Greek view; Cicero *de diu.* 2. § 82 'ita *nobis sinistra* uidentur, *Grais* et barbaris *dextra meliora*.' For an explanation of the difference between the Greek and Roman uses see Darbishire (*Cambridge Philological Trans.* III pp. 156 sqq., *Relliquiae Phil.* pp. 66 sqq.). Ennius, *Fragm. Ann.* 78 sq., gives the Roman point of view 'at Romulu' pulcer in alto | quaerit Auentino *laeuom* genus altiuolantum.'

438. **infami**, '*infami*...asylo' Juv. 8. 273 (and Mayor's note).
compleuit 'filled with men.' So Livy 1. 8. 5 'deinde *ne uana urbis magnitudo esset* adliciendae *multitudinis* causa—locum, qui nunc saeptus descendentibus inter duos *lucos* est, *asylum aperit*.'

440. **Brutis.** Only L. Iunius Brutus is meant, cf. 775 n. '*libertatem* et *consulatum* L. Brutus instituit' Tac. *A.* 1. 1 (H.). **legum.** Livy 2. 1 '*annuos magistratus imperiaque legum* potentiora quam hominum peragam.'

441. **nomen**, cf. V 398 sq. 'careat tantum ne *nomine tempus*, | menstruus in fastos distinguit saecula *consul*.'

444. **ultima** 'worst,' 380 n.

445. **quos** = *quod nos*.

446. **casu**, cf. 487 n.

447. **mentimur** (with an inf. as in Livy, Ov. &c.) means that we 'lie *to ourselves*' in so saying. So *mentire* 'you mistake' Plaut. *Trin.* 362. Comp. Ar. *Nub.* 380 sq. τουτί μ' ἐλελήθει | ὁ Ζεὺς οὐκ

ὧν ἀλλ' ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Δῖνος νυνὶ βασιλεύων. **spectabit**, a mere spectator.

449. **Pholoen**, 827 n. For the thought H. refers to Ar. *Nub.* 398 sqq., cf. also Lucr. 6. 387 sqq.

451. **hoc**, Caesar's head. **astra**, i.e. night, cf. 45. L.'s uncle says darkness came *without* the stars 'tenebrasque iubet surgere nondum | nocte parata nec succedunt | astra' Sen. *Thyest.* 822 sqq.

452. **Argos.** Not the town, but the district which includes *Mycenae*, where Lucan in common with other authors lays the scene I 544. For **intulit** see Crit. App.

453. **similes**, sc. *inpios.*

454. **diem** 'daylight.'

456. Civil wars will produce divinities equal to the Gods above, i.e. by deifying Caesars. There appears to be an allusion to the official designations *diuus Iulius* &c. But in VI 809 he has 'et Romanorum *manes* (cf. 458) calcate *deorum*.'

458. **fulminibus**, so Augustus and Claudius are represented on works of art. **radiis**, i.e. with the *radiata corona* (see the illustration of a head of Augustus, Rich *Dict. Ant.* s.v.); cf. Flor. 4. 2. 91 (of the honours paid to Julius Caesar) 'circa templa imagines: in theatro *distincta radiis* corona.' **astris.** The *stella crinita*, which was supposed to be Julius' *anima*, is represented on coins and on his statues; cf. Suet. *Jul.* 88 'hac de causa *simulacro eius in uertice additur stella.*'

459. **iurabit**, cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2. 1. 16 '*iurandas*que tuum per nomen ponimus aras,' IX 601 sqq. 'dignissimus aris, | Roma, tuis *per quem* numquam *iurare* pudebat | et quem, si steteris umquam ceruice soluta | nunc olim, factura deum es.'

461. **consumpsere** 'used up,' i.e. 'traversed,' cf. Ov. *Her.* 6. 161 'cum mare, cum terras *consumpserit*, aera temptet.'

462. **tempus**, sc. *fuit*, 'there was time to observe.'

463. **quo**, i.e. *in quos*. They look to see who it is they will slay or be slain by. **pila**, 519 n. **quam**, i.e. *cuius*, 'with whose hand Destiny threatens them.' For the reading see Crit. App.

464. **monstra** 'atrocities,' cf. X 474 'tot *monstris*, Aegypte, nocens.' **forent**, cf. *conderet* 132 n. **parentes**, cf. 321.

467. **constrinxit** 'bound fast'; V 256 sq. 'quae dubias *constringere mentes* | causa solet, dum quisque pauet quibus ipse timori est.' **gelidus**, 339 n.

468. **percussa**, i.e. their natural feelings were roused; cf. Virg.

Aen. 9. 292 sqq. '*percussa* mente dedere | Dardanidae lacrimas; ante omnis pulcher Iulus | atque animum patriae strinxit *pietatis* imago.'

469. **tensis lacertis**, i.e. in strained grasp; cf. Claud. *B. Goth.* 257 (of the living hands) 'intentis ambae digitis et sanguine uiuo.'

470. **cunctis**, i.e. *ceteris*. There is here no idea of death *in itself* being a punishment, as H. supposes. Lucan regards the death of the Pharsalian combatants as a punishment for their crime in fighting. **poena paratur**, cf. 303.

471. **tuae...morti**, i.e. *tibi mortuo*. The abstract is not uncommon of the dead body (see the exx. of *mors* in Lewis and Short's Latin lexicon and cf. 820 n.); here the ghost is intended, so '*funera*' Prop. 4 (5). 11. 3. For Crastinus see the Introd. pp. xxvii, xxxiii.

475 sqq. Cf. Sen. *Oed.* 753 sqq. 'sonuit reflexo | *classicum cornu lituus*que adunco | *stridulos* cantus *elisit* aere.' The instruments are joined again in 1 237 sq. '*stridor lituum* clangorque tubarum | non pia concinuit cum rauco *classica cornu*.' Acron on Hor. *Carm.* 1. 1. 23 says '*lituus* equitum est et incuruus.' **concepta** 'gathered' ('were gathered'). Compare Ov. *Met.* 1. 337 sq. 'bucina, quae medio *concepit ubi aera* ponto, | litora *uoce* replet sub utroque iacentia Phoebo' (*aera* is explained by l. 333 sq. 'conchasque sonanti | *inspirare* iubet'). The verb, which properly belongs to the air, is here applied to the sound. The military writer Vegetius (2. 22) says that before a battle 'et tubicines et cornicines *pariter canunt*,' and that the particular signal called *classicum* was given by the *bucinatores* on a horn, 'quod *bucinatores* per *cornu* dicunt,' cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11. 475. The *classicum* implied the presence of the general; cf. Caesar l. c., Introd. p. xvi, n. 1.

477. **aethera**, for the acc. cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 696 'haec limina tendere,' R. 1110.

478 sq. The famous description of Homer reduced to its lowest terms, *Od.* 6. 42 sqq. ὅθι φασὶ θεῶν ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ | ἔμμεναι· οὔτ' ἀνέμοισι τινάσσεται οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρῳ | δεύεται οὔτε χιὼν ἐπιπίλναται, ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἴθρη | πέπταται ἀνέφελος, λευκὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν αἴγλη. Lucretius' rendering, 2. 18 sqq., should be compared with Lucan's. **quo...durant** 'to which no thunders reach,' lit. 'last.' Cf. Lucr. 1. 122 '*quo* neque *permaneant* animae neque corpora nostra.'

480. **Haemus**, the Balkans, see on 872.

481. **geminare** would be *geminandum* in prose; cf. Prop. 3. 11. 64 'est cui *cognomen* coruus *habere dedit*,' Hor. *Carm.* 1. 26. 2 sqq. '*metus* | *tradam* proteruis in mare Creticum | *portare* uentis.' This use must be *carefully distinguished* from uses such as *da bibere*, *ire datur*, with which

it is often confounded. For the sense cf. Virg. *G.* 3. 45 'et uox adsensu nemorum *ingeminata remugit.*'

482. **agit fremitus**, i.e. *fremit*; cf. *agere cursus*, *agere curam*.

484. **expauere**, the armies.

485. **missile**, cf. 294. Lucan first speaks of the discharge of missiles, including the *pila*, with which the battle begins.

486. **uolnera** 'hope to *wound*'; so Stat. *Theb.* 2. 514 'fractosque *in uulnere* dentes' ('while wounding'). **terrae**, dat. as I 607 '*terrae* maesto cum murmure *condit*,' Virg. *G.* 2. 290 '*terrae* defigitur arbos.'

487. **rapit**. The 'adversative conjunction is dispensed with' Heitl. p. 108 (δ).

488. **incerta** 'capricious.'

489—521. On the order of these lines see Crit. App.

514. **soluti** 'living free,' whether as free from political restraints, cf. Tac. *A.* 2. 4 'incerti *solutique* et magis sine domino quam in libertate,' or free from moral restraints, Quint. 2. 3. 146 'sinum togae in dextrum umerum referre *solutum et delicatum* est.' Either would suit the Nomad and effeminate Arabes.

515. **nusquam rexere** 'aimed *at no mark.*' Latin, as Eng., uses *nowhere* for *nowhither*, for which it has no word; so *usquam* Hor. *Serm.* 2. 7. 30 '*usquam* uinctus *eas.*' They shoot into the air.

517. **mortes**. For the abstract for concrete cf. Stat. *Th.* 6. 786 'mille cauet lapsas circum caua tempora *mortes*,' and *uolnus* 619 n.

518. **externum** gives the reason. They are not the weapons of Romans, *pila*. **coactum** 'collected' 'massed,' cf. IX 703 'in nulla plus (ueneni) est serpente coactum.' The expression seems strange till we remember that guilt is conceived of as something material, cf. Prop. 4 (5). 6. 9 'ite procul fraudes, *alio* sint *aere* noxae.'

519. **ferro subtexitur**. This metaphor is not uncommon of clouds, Lucr. 6. 482 'et quasi densendo *subtexit* caerula *nimbis*,' cf. 5. 466 'corpore concreto *subtexunt* caerula *nimbi*' (and Munro's note); and Lucan is describing a *telorum nimbus* (IV 776); cf. Claud. *Stil.* 1. 258 'Poenus *iaculis obtexitur aer.*'

520. **nox...telis conserta** 'darkness made of (or with) interlacing missiles,' cf. IV 136 '*conseritur* bibula Memphitis cumba papyro.'

490. **exacta est**. Comparing VIII 703 sq. '*cladesque* omnes *exegit* in uno | saeua die quibus immunes tot praestitit annos,' it seems probable that this means 'was exacted' as a penalty—a sense which would agree well with *odiis* and *sufficit*—rather than 'produced.' **ensis**, an arti-

ficial way of referring to the fact that, when the *pila* were discharged, both armies drew their swords. Caesar *B. C.* 93 'pila miserunt celeriterque, ut erat praeceptum a Caesare, gladios strinxerunt' (of the Caesarians) ...'pilisque mersis ad gladios redierunt' (of the Pompeians).

491. **ducit** 'takes the hand straight to the Roman heart,' whereas the *pilum* leaves it behind.

493. **arma**, the shields, IX 475 sq. 'delapsaque caelo | *arma*' (the *ancilia*), and Livy often as below. **nexis umbonibus**, cf. Val. Fl. 3. 90 *contextis umbonibus*, because in serried order the shields would overlap and their bosses come near together; hence Juv. 2. 46 'iunctaeque *umbone* phalanges.' *umbo* is also used of the shield itself, Virg. *Aen.* 7. 633.

494. Cf. IV 781 sq. 'non *arma mouendi* | iam *locus* est *pressis*,' Livy 23. 27. 7 'dum corpora corporibus adplicant *armaque armis* (shields) *iungunt* in artum compulsi, cum uix *mouendis armis* satis spatii esset.'

495. **compressa.** *comprimere ordines* is the opposite of *explicare ordines.* **timebat**, cf. IV 779 'uix impune suos inter conuertitur enses.'

497. **agitur** 'charges.' With *agmen agere* usually means 'marching,' cf. 201 n. **per**...**per**, for the effective repetition of the same word, where prose would use *et* or *que*, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10. 313 sq. 'gladio *per*que aerea suta, | *per* tunicam squalentem auro latus haurit apertum,' and Conington on *Ecl.* 4. 6. Cf. also 212 n.

498. **catenas** means a cuirass of *chain-armour*, ἁλυσιδωτὸς θώραξ, in the time of Polybius (6. 23. 16) worn instead of a breast-plate (καρδιοφύλαξ) by those *hastati* whose fortune exceeded 100,000 asses.

499. **tuto**, i.e. 'protecting.' 'Safe' is too strong; compare IV 410 'expugnat quae *tuta*,' 'strongholds,' III 341 '*moenibus exiguis* alieno in litore *tuti*,' so Prop. 2. 12. 11 '*tuti* quam cernimus hostem.'

501. **extremum**, their blows strike home.

502. **frigidus gladius**, V 245, where the Schol. explains it 'nullo sanguine calefactus,' opposed to '*calido* fodiemus uiscera *ferro*' IV 511. In neither case is the metaphorical sense excluded. **inde** 'on the one side,' opposed to **a Caesare**, Crit. App.

503. **nocens**, 60 n.

504 sq. The meaning assigned to the obscure text by Mr Haskins is the only one possible: "And Fortune, taking but a short time to overthrow such weighty interests, swept away the ruins with the flood of doom." There is no difficulty in taking *nec* for *et non* (he compares

I 72 '*nec* se Roma ferens'=*et* R. se *non-ferens*) nor in **diu** which he defends by VIII 672 sq. 'nodosaque frangit | ossa *diu*.' With *uertens* however, which indicates an essentially momentary action, this adverb is not appropriate; and a comparison of III 337 sq. 'non *pondera rerum*, | nec *momenta* sumus,' suggests that **rerum tot pondera** should refer to what was of importance in deciding the issues at stake. Some conjectures are given in the Crit. App.

505. **fato torrente.** The metaphor is apparently from a river in flood. The sole difference between fortune and fate in this and other places of Lucan appears to be that indicated by the capital letter. Cf. 88 sq., 205 sq., III 392, VIII 21 sqq.

506. Lucan apparently misled by the fact that there were a few horse on the right wing (Frontinus quoted on 224) wrongly regards both Pompeian wings as participating in the outflanking movement which was to turn the battle. See Caesar's account c. 88 fin. '*dextrum* cornu eius (Pompey) riuus quidam impeditis ripis muniebat: quam ob caussam cunctum *equitatum sagittarios funditores*que omnes in *sinistro* cornu obiecerat.' For **diduxit cornua**, 'drew the wings in different directions,' compare Livy 28. 14. 15 and 17 'nuntium (Scipio) ad Silanum et Marcium misit ut *cornu extenderent in sinistram partem* quemadmodum se tendentem *ad dexteram* uidissent.—ita *diductis cornibus*' etc.

507. **belli**, cf. 112, 651 n. **ultima**, Caesar's extreme right and left.

508. **sparsa**, of the free order of light armed. **per extremos ...maniplos**, i.e. over Pompey's extreme left and right.

509. **insequitur**, cf. Caesar c. 93 'eodem tempore equites ab sinistro Pompei cornu, ut erat imperatum, uniuersi procucurrerunt omnisque multitudo sagittariorum se profudit, quorum impetum noster equitatus non tulit, sed paullum loco motus cessit, equitesque Pompeiani hoc acrius instare et se turmatim explicare aciemque nostram a latere aperto circumire coeperunt.' **saeuas** 'bloodthirsty bands,' see Crit. App.

511. **cunctis**, dat. **inde...inde**, cf. 230 sq.

512. **faces.** These, like the *saxa*, would be hurled from *ballistae*, cf. II 686 sq. 'tortaque per tenebras validis *ballista* lacertis | *multifidas* iaculata *faces*.' But it is not clear what they are doing here where there are no ships or buildings to fire. It looks as if Virgil *Aen.* I. 150 'iamque *faces et saxa uolant*,' were being copied without reflection. In Val. Fl. 3. 96 '*saxa faces*que atras et *tortae pondera fundae*' are the *weapons of* a mob.

513. 'Pellets fused by travel through the air with their mass melted by the heat.' He means to convey that they must pass through a certain 'extent of air,' **spatio aeris**, before the heating of their mass, **calido pondere**, can produce the effect in question. This is not an exaggeration of Lucan's. The ancients from Aristotle onwards believed it happened; e.g. Ov. *Met.* 14. 825 sq. 'sic lata plumbea funda | missa solet medio glans *intabescere* caelo.'

521. **prima**, through the attack on the rear.

522. **obliquas**, i.e. not parallel to the *frons*, but placed behind the regular 'three lines' at an angle in order to resist a side attack. This *quarta acies* (Caes.) consisted of 6 cohorts. For **tenet** see Crit. App.

523. **latus** and **uagus** agree well with the last quoted words of Caesar.

524 sqq. Cf. Caesar's words '*celeriter* procucurrerunt *infestisque signis* tanta ui in Pompei equites impetum fecerunt ut eorum nemo consisteret omnesque conuersi non solum loco excederent sed protinus incitati fuga montes altissimos peterent.' **non motis**, i.e. kept in their place.

525. **inmemores pugnae.** H. compares the Homeric address ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς. **timendi**, apparently gerund.

526. **fecere palam** 'showed that,' the active expression corresponding to *erat palam*, cf. 133, 279.

529. **in caput effusi** 'headlong,' cf. Livy 27. 19. 10 'prolapso equo *effusum in praeceps*.' 'Over the *horse's* head' would be *super*, or *per*, *caput*.

530 sq. **glomerata**, no longer *uaga* (523). **nubes**, cf. Sil. It. 6. 33 '*nubes* densa Laconum,' Livy 35. 49. 5 'rex peditum equitumque *nubes* iactat,' Hom. *Il.* 4. 274 ἅμα δὲ νέφος εἵπετο πεζῶν. **praeceps**, sc. *eques*.

532. **perdidit modum**, cf. VIII 492 '*sublatus*que *modus* gladiis,' the opposite of '*modum* recepit' Claud. IV *Cons. Hon.* 68. **caedes ...pugna**, cf. Quint. Curt. 4. 15. 32 'iamque *non pugna* sed *caedes* erat.'

533. **bella** has a touch of irony, cf. 306 n. The passage is perhaps parodied by Juvenal 3. 289 'rixae, | si rixa est ubi tu pulsas, ego uapulo tantum.'

537. **mutentur** 'stained'; cf. Claud. *Stil.* 1. 133 'flumina quae largo *mutastis sanguine* fluctus.'

538. **hic numerus** 'their numbers,' a common 'attraction.' **uestiat** 'clothe,' a similar metaphor in 835.

541. For the Hiberi cf. *Hiberia* 232. They have as good a title as

the *Britanni* Hor. *carm.* I. 35. 29 sq. 'ultimos | orbis Britannos,' to the title 'furthest in the world,' as they are as far to the west, and Gades is the sun's couch, Stat. *Silu.* 3. I. 183.

543. **hic** 'they (lit. this) will be the Roman people.' It is difficult to set any limits to the so-called attraction of pronouns to the predicate, cf. Prop. 2. 24. 50 sq. 'uix uenit extremo qui legat ossa die. | *hi* tibi *nos* erimus.'

544. **fatis**. 'The fates were allowed free course for Caesar.' Though destiny cannot be altered (except perhaps in minor respects, see the remarkable passage on the power of the Thessalian witches beginning 'si *fata minora* moueres' VI 605 sqq.), yet its course can be arrested, III 392 'quantum est quod *fata tenentur!*' (cf. 88, 295) or accelerated, V 41 '*fatorum impellite cursum*' (cf. 52). See also Mr Heitland's examples pp. 44 sq. Consistency in speaking of fate is as difficult to the world in general as correctness in referring to the earth's motion round its axis and for much the same reason. The Stoics certainly did not succeed in their attempt to reconcile their doctrine of Necessity with the popular conception of the freedom of the individual will; see Zeller *Stoics &c.* (Eng. Tr. p. 178).

545. Lucan follows the conquering Caesarians to the centre. **robur**, 221.

546 sq. 'The fight (112 n.), which had spread its wandering course over all the wide plain, stopped here and Caesar's fortune was checked.' **errore** has its strict verbal sense. The metaphor appears to be from a river in flood. **haesit**, cf. '*haeserunt* ibi *fata* diu,' III 645. H. cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11. 290.

548. **illic**. Observe the change of pronoun. He returns to *hic* in 551, cf. also 229 sqq. **auxiliis**, the abl. will be used somewhat differently, according as we make the noun mean 'help' (plur. because *regum* is plur.) or 'auxiliary forces.'

549. **ferrumque**. The negative, as often in Lucan, is carried on from the previous clause. *neque* (or *aut*) would be used in prose, cf. Heitl. Introd. p. 108 (β). **mouere**, cf. notes on 494, 767. **rogatae**, cf. IV 233 sq. 'Magne, paras acies mundique extrema tenentes | *sollicitas* reges.'

551. **tua crimina** 'the proofs of your guilt'; cf. IX 1090 sq. 'sed non, ut *crimina* solum | *uestra* tegat tellus, iusto date tura sepulcro' (of Pompey's murdered body).

553. **uate** with the gen., cf. Ov. *Am.* 3. 9. 5 'ille *tui* uates operis.'

555. The sense is: let a patriot's feeling be condemned to silence;

cf. also on 707. For the words cf. Tib. 2. 5. 105 sq. 'pace tua *pereant* arcus *pereantque* sagittae, | Phoebe, modo in terris erret inermis Amor.'

557. **rabies** 'cause of madness.' H. illustrates from Virg. *Aen.* 7. 479. Cf. 33 n.

558. **sui**, i.e. his army, 652 n. **pereat scelus** 'their crime be wasted,' cf. IV 252 sq. 'ac, uelut occultum ('if hidden') *pereat scelus*, omnia monstra | in faciem posuere ducum.'

559. **ignes flagrantibus**, proverbial, adds fuel to the flame; cf. Tac. *Hist.* 1. 24 '*flagrantibus* iam militum animis uelut faces *addiderat*.' For the verb cf. 383.

560. **inspicit**, cf. the imitation in Stat. *Th.* 4. 134 sq. 'pater ipse cruentis | in foribus laudatque nefas atque *inspicit enses*.'

561. **niteant**, opposed to *sanguine manent*. **primo mucrone** 'at the point,' opposed to *toti*, cf. '*primum* digitum' Catull. 2. 3.

562. **presso ense** 'as it grasps the sword,' so IV 705 sq. 'cum dira uoluptas | *ense* subit *presso*.'

563. **contenta** 'tightly strained,' properly of the muscles, cf. 469 n. **iubenti**, i.e. only at command.

565. **obit**, ἐπέρχεται, 'makes the round of.'

566. **fusura**, for the fut. part. of an arrested possibility cf. III 621 'telaque multorum leto *casura* suorum | emerita iam morte tenet' (Heitl. p. 106).

567. **premit** 'closes,' cf. Tac. *Ann.* 15. 64 'hortantibus militibus serui libertique *obligant bracchia, premunt sanguinem*.' **opposita** 'by placing his hand against them.'

568. So Virgil (whom Lucan is perhaps imitating), *Aen.* 8. 703 (quoted by H.), represents Bellona. Aeschylus gives the scourge to Ares or Mars, διπλῇ μάστιγι τὴν Ἄρης φιλεῖ *Ag.* 642. In Sil. It. 4. 439 as Mars' charioteer '*quadriiugos* atro *stimulat* Bellona *flagello*.' There is no allusion to the Cappadocian Bellona, for whom see Juv. 4. 124 (Mayor).

569. This image, the source of which is obscure, is perhaps made up of reminiscences of Homer. In the fight between Ares and Athena Ares strikes her κατ' αἰγίδα θυσσανόεσσαν | σμερδαλέην ἣν οὐδὲ Διὸς δάμνησι κεραυνός *Il.* 21. 400; ib. 408 Ares' arms clatter as he falls, τεύχεα δ' ἀμφαράβησε, cf. V 573; 20. 51 (in the first mention of the θεομαχία) Ares is said to be ἐρεμνῇ λαίλαπι ἶσος, cf. *v.* 571 '*nox ingens* scelerum.' In *Il.* 13. 298 Ares and his son Φόβος go to stir up war *among the Thracian tribes.* Val. Fl. 3. 83 sqq. apparently works up

Lucan's simile, but somewhat differently; '*Bistonas* in medios ceu *Martius* exilit astris | *currus*, ubi *ingentes animae* clamorque tubaeque (cf. *agitans*) | sanguineum *iuuere* deum'; and a few lines below 'stat manus *aegisono* quam nec fera pectore uirgo | dispulerit nec dextra Iouis Terrorque Pauorque, | Martis *equi*.' **si** with the pres. subj. introduces a detail in a simile, as at II 456.

570. **turbatos** 'confused by the aegis of Pallas.' The Latin does not say *when*. **currus** 'his team,' a Virgilian use, e.g. *Aen.* 12. 287.

571. **nox** 'storm-cloud'; IV 244 '*caeca bellorum nocte*.' It is used in a more literal sense with *nimborum* by Lucr. 4. 172 sq. 'usque adeo taetra *nimborum nocte coorta* | impendent atrae formidinis ora superne,' and by Virg. **instar** refers properly and almost exclusively to *size* or *amount*, not to appearance, and means not 'like' but 'equivalent to'; 'instar montis equum' Virg. *Aen.* 2. 15, 'a horse as *large* as a mountain.' The stress here is on *immensae*, cf. Ov. (?) *Her.* 16. 366 'unus is *innumeri* militis *instar* habet,' is as good as myriads. **oriuntur**, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 411 '*oritur*que miserrima caedes.'

573. **pectoris** (to be taken with **pondere**), because they fall on their face, cf. *Il.* 5. 58 ἤριπε δὲ πρηνής, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

574. **subicit**, in place of the broken ones.

575. **confundere** (Crit. App.) 'make unrecognisable,' 'hack,' cf. Ov. *Met.* 12. 250 sq. 'ossa | *non agnoscendo confusa* relinquit in ore,' II 191 'et ut uilem Marii *confundere uoltum*,' see 322 n.

576. Caesar is ubiquitous—in front and rear alike.

577. **conuersae hastae** 'the spear butt.' Virg. *Aen.* 1. 478 '*uersa* puluis inscribitur *hasta*.' So officers nowadays admonish laggards with the flat of the sword.

579. **cruor**, used for *sanguis*, apparently because it is to be shed. See however VI 750 'protenus adstrictus caluit *cruor*.' **imperii... rerum**, cf. V 26 sq. '*rerum* nos (the Senate) summa sequetur | *imperium*-*que* comes.' **uiscera**, as we say, the heart, cf. 732.

580. **unde petat**, i.e. where Rome is vulnerable. Cf. Virg. *G.* 2. 505 'hic *petit* excidiis urbem, miserosque penates.'

581. The stress is on **ferienda**. The main verb is comparatively unimportant, cf. Lucr. 5. 514 'quo *uoluenda micant* aeterni sidera mundi' (=*uoluuntur micantia*); Mart. 3. 6. 1 sq. 'Lux tibi post idus *numeratur* tertia Maias, | Marcelline, tuis bis *celebranda* sacris' (i.e. *quae numeratur, celebranda est*). Neglect of this function of participles,

common to Greek and Latin, often causes misapprehensions, cf. Pind. *Nem.* 8. 38 *ἐγὼ δ' ἀστοῖς ἁδὼν καὶ χθονὶ γυῖα καλύψαιμ'* (he prays to *please*, not to die). Hor. *Carm.* 4. 6. 13 sqq. 'ille non inclusus equo Mineruae | sacra mentito male feriatos | Troas et laetam Priami choreis | falleret aulam: | sed *palam captis* grauis heu nefas heu | nescios fari pueros Achiuis | ureret flammis.' Horace having, as he supposed, made it clear that Achilles would have taken Troy 'by *force*, not fraud,' passes on, like a lyric poet, to something else. **secundo**, i.e. *equestri*.

583. **urguentur** 'have no respite from the sword.'

584. **Torquata nomina** 'the stock of Torquatus.' The license of using proper names as adjectives, which begins in Augustan times, *Horatia facta* Prop., *Metaurum flumen* Hor., extends rapidly later. For **nomina** cf. VI 795 'laetantes, *popularia nomina*, Drusos,' and VIII 437 sq. 'ubi *nomina* tanta | obruit Euphrates,' and inf. 589. The sense slides towards that of 'name' as in I 313 '*nomina uana* Catones,' Auson. *Parent.* 22. 1 'o ueteres, *Calpurnia* nomina, frugi.' See also Crit. App.

585. **te remoto** 'apart from you' (cf. 664), qualifies **summos**, cf. Pind. *Nem.* 7. 27 κράτιστον Ἀχιλῆος ἄτερ.

587. **hosti**, Caesar. **quid**, Crit. App.

589. **nomen** 'bearer of the name,' as H. translates, see above on 584.

591. **admoueris**, 49 n. **Philippos**, 872 n.

593 sq. **iugulo**, verbal or nearly so; cf. 325 n., Manilius 4. 128 '*in iugulum*que dabit fructus' = *ad iugulandum*. **attigit arcem**, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 3. 9 sq. 'hac arte Pollux et uagus Hercules | *enisus arces attigit* igneas.' For the metaphor in *arcem iuris* cf. Tac. *Dial.* 10 'arcem eloquentiae,' and for *arx* as the symbol of a tyrant (cf. *regnet* 596), see VIII 490 'euertitque *arces* (i.e. tyrannies) respectus honesti,' Sen. *Thyest.* 341 'cupidi *arcium*,' Mayor on Juv. 10. 307. **iuris** again is used of any kind of power by Lucan; so *ius mundi* = *regnum mundi* II 321, V 226; IX 1054 'raptumque *e iure superbi* | uictoris generum.'

594 sq. For the reading cf. Crit. App. **egressus**. *egressus in c.* would be more usual of climbing. But there seems no reason why the *acc.* should not be used of rising clear above a point, as of passing clear out beyond it, as 'egressus *tentoria*' V 511; 'humanumque egressa *modum*' IX 794 (swelling out beyond the size of a man). For the whole expression compare Tac. *A.* 15. 74 'quod quidem ille decernebat tamquam *mortale fastigium egresso* et uenerationem hominum merito'; cf.

Suet. *Caes.* 76 (of J. Caesar) 'ampliora etiam *humano fastigio* sibi decerni passus est.' **columen** (=*culmen*, see Crit. App.), cf. v 250 sq. 'quam non *e* stabili, tremulo sed *culmine cuncta* | *despiceret*' (Caesar); VIII 8 'summo de *culmine* lapsus'; ib. 702 'summo de *culmine rerum*' (both of Pompey); Claud. *Stil.* 3. 107 sqq. 'populumque uetusti | *culminis* inmemorem *dominandi* rursus in usum | excitat' (of Rome). **premuntur** 'are ruled,' cf. x 48 sqq. 'licet usque sub Arcton | *regnemus* Zephyrique domos terrasque *premamus* | flagrantis post terga Noti' (of Rome). This sense, which is also that of *reguntur* (Crit. App.), seems better than 'dwarfed,' 'overtopped,' as H. takes it comparing, inter alia, Stat. *Silu.* 1. 2. 115 sq. 'quantum Latonia nymphas | uirgo *premit.*' **fatis**=*fortuna*, cf. 505 n.

598. **non mixta**, Crit. App. **cadauer**, 102 n.

599 sq. **pugnacis**, 219 n. Unfortunately for Lucan we have Caesar's account, 'L. Domitius *ex castris in montem refugiens* cum uires cum lassitudine deficerent, ab equitibus *interfectus est*' c. 99 fin., which is confirmed by the statement of Cicero, *Phil.* 2. 71, that he was killed by Antony, 'L. *Domitium*...occideras *multosque praeterea qui e proelio effugerant* quos *Caesar*, ut nonnullos, fortasse seruasset, crudelissime *persecutus* trucidaras.' This undistinguished end would not however do for the ancestor of Nero; so our author coolly alters it, just as he transfers the achievement of an Atilius to a Massaliote soldier that he may not have to acknowledge that one of his own maternal ancestors fought on Caesar's side (III 609 sqq., see Heitl. *Introd.* p. 53).

602. **totiens**, at Corfinium and Massilia as well as Pharsalia.

603 sq. **in uolnera labitur**, cf. Lucr. quoted on 626. **secunda.** 'L. Domitio, qui per tumultum *successor* ei (to supersede Caesar in Gaul) nominatus Corfinium praesidio tenebat, in dicionem redacto atque dimisso' Suet. *Jul.* 34.

605. **uersantem**, Crit. App.

608. **pulsans**, for the part. see 359 n.

612. **Magno duce** 'Pompey my leader still.' Throughout this sentence the emphasis falls outside the main verb, which owes its force entirely to the solemn nature of the event referred to. Cf. 581 n.

613. **securus**, 308 n. **subactum** takes its time from *daturum*.

616. **mersere** (Crit. App.), cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 267 'res alta terra et *caligine mersas*,' Val. Fl. 8. 65 sq. 'an lumina somno | *merginus*?' for the sense III 735 'oculos uastae *obduxere tenebrae*' (of swooning).

617. **inpendisse pudet.** The perf. is used for metrical convenience, thus *uicisse* 27 n., *gessisse* (VIII 419, X 170); but *iurare* IX 602, not *iurasse*.

618. **mortibus**, dat. There follows a butcher's catalogue. The Roman taste for such descriptions was in part the effect of the gladiatorial shows.

619 sq. **letiferum** has a strong emphasis, 'who is killed outright.' **uolnus**, what wounds, i.e. the weapon, cf. VIII 384 'et quo ferre uelint, permittere *uolnera* uentis': for the use of the abstr. cf. *mortes* 517 n. **exierit** 'is launched,' cf. IV 201 sq. 'qua lancea dextra | *exierit*.' **calcet**, in his death convulsions. Ovid *Met.* 12. 390 sq. is much worse than Lucan.

621 sq. 'Who with the outrush of his life drove out the sword buried in his throat as he faced the foe.' An incredible occurrence which is frequently mentioned; III 590 sq. 'utrasque simul *largus cruor expulit* hastas | diuisitque animam'; Ov. *Met.* 13. 393 sq. 'nec ualuere manus infixum educere telum; | *expulit ipse cruor*'; Senec. *Oed.* 1064 '*ferrumque* secum nimius *eiecit cruor*.' **anima** (Crit. App.) 'life-blood,' as III 640 sq. 'discursusque *animae* diuersa in membra meantis | interceptus aquis'; Virg. *Aen.* 9. 349. The Stoics regarded the soul (*anima*) as fed by vapours from the blood, Zeller *Stoics &c.*

623. **membra**, here 'arms,' so seemingly III 431 'in sua credebant redituras *membra secures*,' and probably Prop. 2. 28. 11 'an contempta tibi Iunonis *membra* (*templa* MSS) Pelasgae?' (of λευκώλενος Ἥρη).

624. **transmittant** 'let the missiles pass through,' cf. Sil. It. 2. 118 'calamumque uolantem, | dum clamat, patulo excipiens *transmisit* hiatu.'

625. **quis e scissis**, Crit. App. **perruperit**. Cf. the simile in Ov. *Met.* 4. 121 sqq. 'cruor emicat alte | non aliter quam cum uitiato fistula plumbo | *scinditur* et tenues stridente foramine longe | eiaculatur aquas, atque ictibus *aera* rumpit.'

626. **hostis**. H. well quotes Lucr. 4. 1049 sqq. 'namque omnes plerumque cadunt in uolnus, et illam | emicat in partem sanguis, unde icimur ictu; | et, si comminus est, *hostem* ruber occupat umor.' **sui** refers to the real subject *quis*, not to *cruor*; so in other similar cases, e.g. Prop. 3. 9. 56 'Antonique graues in sua fata manus.'

627. **ut notum possit**. This, as well as the next sentence, is quite inconsistent with any idea that they would be rewarded for killing relations, as *inputet* is explained by some in 325, see n. The actions mentioned here are concessions to the feeling which Caesar would there be made to outrage.

631. **nullos hominum**, no individuals in the throng. The gen. compels us to think of them separately. **uacamus** 'have space,' cf. *II 118 sq.* 'cui funera uolgi | flere *uacat*?'

632. **pugnae partes**, like *partes misericordiae*, *partes consilii* etc., 'rôle of fighting,' 'fighting part.'

635. **Achaeus**, for the Greek contingent see III 171 sqq.

636 sq. **Assyrius** must here exclude the Parthians, see III 256—266; perhaps it is used loosely for Eastern. **cunctos**, i.e. *celerorum*, 470. For **haerere** 'stop' and **consistere** cf. 547 n.

638. **ferrent**, for the tense cf. 132 n. on 'conderet.'

642. **nepotes**, mere distant descendants as in 207.

644 sq. **teximus iugulos** 'screened our throats,' cf. Livy 4. 37. 11 '*tegi* Romanus magis quam pugnare.' **poena**, i.e. the yoke, δούλιον ζυγόν Aesch. *Ag.* 953, Tac. *Agr.* 31 '*exuere iugum* potuerunt.' This symbol of subjection, which is derived from harnessing animals, appears in the *iugum* under which the Romans passed a conquered enemy. It always carries a reference to its original meaning, cf. Livy 9. 6. 12 'non hiscere quemquam prae metu, tamquam *ferentibus adhuc ceruicibus iugum sub quo* emissi essent'; for this 'yoke' (described in Livy 3. 28. 11) did not rest on the neck. Of course there may be also a reference to other ignominious objects carried on the neck, such as the *furca* and the *collare.* **sedet**, i.e. remains fixed.

646. I.e. if we were to be enslaved, why were we not at least allowed an opportunity of fighting (*bella*) for our freedom? **dabas** = *daturus eras*, imperf. of actions purposed, *N. L. P.* 178 (cf. 417). **dedisses** = *dare debebas*, *N. L. P.* 384, R. 1604; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8. 643 'at tu dictis, Albane, maneres.'

647. **transisse**, i.e. 'ad Caesarem' Schol.

648 sq. 'Whom the whole disaster had forced with difficulty to consider his fortune lost.' The emphasis falls on **tota uix.** For **damnare** cf. IV 337 sq. 'iam domiti cessere duces pacisque petendae | auctor *damnatis* supplex Afranius *armis*.' This description and soliloquy is a rhetorical invention; see the Introd.

651. **clades** 'carnage,' cf. 795 n., 821. **bello obstante** 'when the fighting blocked the view.'

652 sq. He sees the weapons strike, the fallen bodies (71 n.), and his own life shed in pools of blood. **sua...se.** The Schol. says 'nam exercitus est corpus inperatoris,' cf. 558, 101 n.

654. Cf. Sil. It. 8. 333 sqq. '*trahit omnia secum* | et metuit demens, alio ne consule Roma | concidat.' Here however **secum** goes with **mersa** also, 'drag into the abyss with him.' The perf. part., as often, denotes an event whose relation in time to the main verb is not exactly defined. For the whole passage compare Claudian in Rufin. 2. 17 sqq.

'Quid restat nisi cuncta nouo confundere luctu | insontesque meae *populos miscere ruinae?* | *euerso* iuuat *orbe mori* (cf. 664 inf.); *solacia leto* | *exitium commune* dabit.'

658. **uoluit** (Crit. App.) 'chose,' 'desired,' carrying out the idea of *uotis*. **solacia** 'alleviations,' not aggravations (654 sq.), of his calamity. The Schol. says excellently 'optauit solacia, quae ei essent si solus occumbat.'

662. **pignora** 'hostages.' The Scholiast is excellent again, 'in quae saeuiant si meo sanguine delectentur.'

664. **orbe remoto** 'without the world,' 585 n. For Pompey's vanity cf. 353.

665. The sense is 'There is nothing more I can be stripped of. Fortune, why pursue your hatred farther?'

668. **circumit** 'goes round *to*.' Plautus plays on this and the other sense 'goes round' in *Menaechm*. 2. 1. 6 'an quasi *mare* omnes *circumimus* insulas?' **matura** 'dashing into death before the time'; cf. Sen. *Oed.* 71 'affusus aris supplices tendo manus | *matura* poscens *fata*'; [Tib.] *Pan. Messal.* 205 'seu *matura* dies fato properat mihi mortem.' The passage of meaning, at first sight surprising, is from 'ripe' or 'ready,' through 'pressing,' 'urgent,' to 'hurried,' 'coming too soon.'

669. **tanti** 'worth the sacrifice,' *ut in matura fata ruant*. Lucan has also the 'inverted' *tanti*, as we may call it, VI 768 '*sit tanti* uixisse iterum,' 'consider *the sacrifice worth making*.' See for both Juv. 10. 97, 13. 96 (with Mayor's notes). **robur**, i.e. *animi*, usually added in prose, 'fortitude'; cf. Seneca *Oed.* 78 'magno *robore* aerumnas doma.'

670. **ire**, i.e. *ad eundum*. Here, as seemingly elsewhere, e.g. Prop. 1. 16. 7, when *deesse* is used with a complement in the inf., a negative is prefixed.

675. **ubicumque** 'everywhere,' cf. Ov. *Am.* 3. 10. 5. So other compounds of *-cumque*; *undecumque* Sen., *quacumque* Virg. This use, like the similar one of ὁστισοῦν, comes from an ellipse of the verb of the dependent clause. **seu** (Crit. App.), with the usual choice of alternatives.

676 sq. 'And that death in thy presence which the fates denied.' The subj. is **te praesente mori**, to which **fatis negatum** is in *apposition*. Editors have been misled by *negatum* in I 70 sq. 'summisque negatum | stare diu,' where the part. and inf. form one notion. Cornelia was at some distance from the scene of Pompey's murder.

677 sq. Compare Caesar's account 'Pompeius, **cum** intra **uallum** nostri uersarentur, equum nactus, *detractis insignibus imperatoriis* decumana porta se ex castris eiecit, protinusque *equo citato* (cf. **concitus**) Larisam contendit,' c. 96. **pauentem.** Lucan lets out the truth at VIII 5 sqq. '*pauet* ille *fragorem* | *motorum uentis nemorum* (like Horace's young deer *Carm.* I. 23. 5 sqq.) comitumque suorum | qui post terga redit, trepidum *laterique timentem* | *exanimat.*' **-que,** adversative; cf. IX 146 sq. '*non* in gemitus, lacrimasque dolorem | effudit iusta*que* furens pietate profatur.' So IV 604, V 618. Mostly *nec* precedes which is more usual, cf. Gk. οὔτε—τε and *N. L. P.* 353.

682. **non inpare** 'unaltered' H., which is possible if *sibi* is understood, Hor. *Serm.* I. 3. 18 sq. 'nil fuit umquam | sic *inpar sibi.*' I think however it means 'unconquered,' 'a match for,' understanding *ei* (Emathiae), cf. Suet. *Tib.* 23 'derepente uelut *inpar dolori* congemuit.' This agrees with 713 'nobile *nec uictum fatis* caput.'

684. **uidebunt**, i.e. either now or hereafter, 703 sq.

685. **laeto**, sc. *minor.* **tres**, 14 n. **infida**, the epithet of *Fortune* is out of place, cf. 33 n.

686. **minor**, you have always been "superior to fortune," as we say. **pondere** 'load,' cf. Mart. 6. 64. 14 'ipse etiam *tanto* dominus sub *pondere* rerum,' and elsewhere in the poets.

687. **securus**, *sine curis*, cf. 308 n.

688. The aor. inf. (such it is) does not differ in sense from the pres., which is metrically inconvenient, cf. 617 n.

691 sq. **damnis**, e.g. Thapsus and Utica. For the other allusions cf. VI 306 sqq. 'non Vticae Libye clades, Hispania *Mundae* | flesset et infando pollutus sanguine Nilus | nobilius *Phario* gestasset rege cadauer.' **nocens**, 60 n.

695 sq. **studium** 'zeal' for him. The killed in the Alexandrian war were only Egyptians. But they were against Caesar, and that is enough for Lucan. **par** 'the duellists always with us'; the metaphor is from the gladiatorial combats, cf. Hor. *Serm.* I. 7. 19 sq. 'Rupili et Persi *par* pugnat uti non | compositus melius cum Bitho Bacchius'; VI 191 sq. '*par*que nouum Fortuna uidet concurrere bellum | atque uirum.' **erit**, Crit. App.

697. **moriens**, with the preceding words: allowing themselves to be killed after you have left the field.

699. **perspectasse** 'to witness to the end.' Suet. *Aug.* 98 'quinquennale certamen gymnicum *perspectauit,*' *Dom.* 4 'inter maximos imbres *perspectauit.*' So perhaps Pomponius fr. 22 (in Ribbeck's

Comicorum Latinorum Reliquiae). **spumantis cateruas** perhaps includes both slayers and slain.

700. **turbatos**, cf. 116.

701. **pectore** 'feelings,' here those of conscience.

703 sq. Apparently to be regarded only as an anticipation of Pompey's, not (as it would be) a very loose reference to future events. All writers sometimes give the thoughts of their characters without warning. **ignotis** then will allude to his design of going to Parthia, **positus** to that of dwelling in Egypt. This latter word is simply used of geographical position, and is the part. corresponding to *iacet*, see 188 n. For the act. we may compare Hor. *Carm.* 1. 22. 17 sq. 'pone me pigris ubi nulla campis | arbor aestiua recreatur aura.'

705 sq. The sense is 'let the past favours of heaven and fate convince you that of two evils you have escaped the worse.' **erat** 'would have been,' corresponding to *est* 'would be,' with certain neut. adjectives a customary form; R. 1535 (*a*), *N. L. P.* 417 (*b*).

706. **sonare**, neuter.

707. **remitte** 'forego.' These signs of grief were a *tribute due* to misfortune. This adds point to 555.

708. **adoret**. This verb includes two, both derived from *ōs*, *ad-oro* 'address,' a compound of *oro* 'speak' (cf. *orator*), and *ador-o* a derivative from *ad os*, the significant gesture of *adoratio* being 'kissing one's hand,' Pliny 28. 25 'in adorando *dextram* ad *osculum* referimus.'

710. **donata**, 300 n.

711. 'And choose a land (18 n.) for—death.' **Libyam**. Egypt, Parthia and Numidia were the three refuges open to Pompey.

712 sqq. Note the striking agreement with Valerius Maximus 4. 5. 5 'Pompeius autem Magnus Pharsalica acie uictus a Caesare cum postero die Larisam intraret oppidique illius uniuersus populus obuiam ei processisset, 'ite' inquit 'et istud *officium praestate uictori*';' cf. Introd. p. xiii.

713 sq. **omnibus ciuibus**, seemingly to be taken with **obuia**, 'meeting him with all its population.'

714. **per moenia** 'along the walls,' cf. 369, 414 and Prop. 3 (4). 11. 23 'et duo in aduersum mitti *per moenia* currus.'

715. **munera** 'contributions.' The word is also used of forced 'levies.'

716. **optant** 'they pray that they may share his disasters.'

718. **minor** 'inferior to,' 'overcome by,' cf. 686. **inpellere**, 16 n.

719. **in fata**, *to your former fortune.*

720. **inquit.** The change of person is for variety, cf. 96 n.

721. **praestate fidem** 'pay the allegiance you owe me,' hence in v. 723 *donat.*

722. **patriae uiscera.** H. quotes Virg. *Aen.* 6. 833.

725. **conuicia,** cf. IX 187 sq. 'in superos audet *conuicia* uolgus | Pompeiumque deis obicit.'

726 sq. **uera fides** 'real proof,' 'genuine certainty,' cf. Prop. 4 (5). 1. 98 '*uera*, sed inuito, *contigit* ista *fides*.' **quaesiti** 'so much sought,' cf. note on 10.

729. **parcendum,** *parcere* properly means 'to be sparing towards,' 'to use sparingly,' and then, as here, 'to stop, or abstain from, using.' Hence, just like *temperare* 'to moderate,' it may take the abl.: Livy 25. 25. 6 'precantes ut a caedibus et ab incendiis *parceretur*.'

730. **frustra,** by whose death he would gain nothing.

731. **permisit** 'allowed to live,' cf. 413 n.

732. **reuocent** 'rally the routed,' 'recall them from flight,' cf. Livy 2. 59. 9 'tandem collectis ex dissipato cursu militibus consul cum *revocando* (attempting to rally them) nequiquam suos persecutus esset.'

734. **calet** 'while his fortune is aglow,' a common metaphor in Latin; so *res calet, iudicia calent.* The allusion is to the ardour of the soldiers, cf. 'Romani *calentes* adesse ab recenti pugna,' Livy 25. 39. 9.

conficit 'carries all before it,' Claud. *Fesc.* 239 'bellumque solus *conficeret* dolor,' cf. VI 130 sq. 'ne quid uictoria ferro | deberet, pauor attonitos confecerat hostes' (compared by Hosius).

735. **subactis,** see Crit. App.

738. **superest** 'all that is left is.'

740. **cunctis** (see also Crit. App.) appears to mean 'all there are in the world.' The phrase is perhaps modelled on *omne aurum*; Ov. *Pont.* 2. 8. 5 '*omni*que beatius *auro*,' Cic. *Rep.* 3. 8 'rem multo *omni auro* cariorem.' **metallis,** the precious metals (cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1. 10. 39), especially gold; Claud. VI *Cons. Hon.* 51 sq. 'acies stupet *igne metalli* | et circumfuso trepidans obtunditur *auro*,' so also *Stil.* 3. 133 'luce *metalli*,' and l. c. on 755. It is possible, though not so likely, that *metallis* means 'gold mines,' *aurifera metalla* III 209.

742. **premunt** 'shut in,' 'hide,' cf. III 253 (quoted on 189). H. cf. Mart. 3. 40. 2 'ex opibus tantis quas grauis arca *premit*.'

743. **coacta,** cf. 518 n.

745. **quos sequeris,** your routed foe.

746. **rapiuntur,** 'the vivid present,' 'at this very moment,' is intentional, cf. 114 n. For what follows see Crit. App.

748. **ire.** Cf. *scire ruunt*, the effect of *inpulit*. The inf. after *inpello* is found in Livy, Virg. and Hor. **gladios**, see Crit. App. **patrum** 'senators.'

751. **ruunt**, with the inf. as in Prop. 4 (5). 1. 71.

752. **spoliato** etc. The order of words is *plurima pondera massae mundo spoliato in bellorum sumptus congestae* 'the world's spoil in many a heavy ingot heaped up for the war's expenses.'

754. **impleuit** (Crit. App.), i.e. *merces* (751). **mentes**, of the passions, cf. Catull. 64. 147 'simul ac *cupidae* mentis satiata libido est.'

755. **fodit.** *fodere* here (as well as in the expression *fodere oculos*) is equivalent to *effodere*, and so in Sen. *Thyest.* 353 sqq. (if the lines are genuine) 'non *quicquid fodit* occidens | aut unda *Tagus* aurea | claro deuehit alueo' and Claudian l. c. quoted below. Usually however it means rather to be 'diggers of,' 'miners of,' than actually to get out; *argentum fodere* to 'mine' silver Livy, *gypsum fodere* Pliny. But the distinction is evanescent. **Hiber**, the Spaniards, particularly the Asturians (below). **expuit** (Crit. App.) 'throws up' on its shores (the metaphor is less coarse in Latin than in English) deposits of alluvial gold (*ramenta auri*); cf. Cat. 64. 155 'quod mare conceptum spumantibus *expuit* undis?'; cf. also the imitations in Claudian (which Hosius cites) *Cons. Prob. et Ol.* 48 sqq. 'praeceps illa manus fluuios superabat Hiberos, | aurea dona uomens *quae uix* tellure reuulsa | sollicitis *fodiens* miratur collibus aurum (? *Astur*), | quantum stagna *Tagi* rudibus stillantia uenis | effluxere decus, quanto pretiosa *metallo* | Hermi ripa micat, quantus per Lydia culta | *despumat* rutilas uoluens Pactolus harenas' (the words marked with an asterisk are my corrections for corruptions in the MSS), *Laus Serenae* 74 sqq. 'Cantaber Oceanus uicino litore gemmas | *expuit*, *effossis* nec pallidus *Astur* oberrat | montibus.' For the Tagus and other auriferous rivers see Mayor on Juv. 14. 299.

756. **quod**, see Crit. App. **summis harenis.** Lucan agrees with Aeschylus *Prom.* 805 τόν τε μουνῶπα στρατὸν | Ἀριμασπὸν ἱπποβάμον', οἳ χρυσόρρυτον | οἰκοῦσιν ἀμφὶ νᾶμα Πλούτωνος πόρου, whereas the story given in Herodotus 3. 116, cf. 4. 13, is that the Arimaspi stole it from the griffins (γρῦπας τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας). For **diues** cf. Orph. *Arg.* 1067 Ἀριμασπά τ' ἔθνη πολυπάμονα λαόν.

757. **ut rapiant** 'though they seize,' has for its object the two preceding lines.

758. **Tarpeias arces**, cf. v 305 sq. (of Caesar) 'non illis urbes

spoliandaque templa negasset | *Tarpeiam*que Iouis sedem.' **uictor,** i.e. the victorious soldiers, a collective as in 838. Cf. 102 n. **desponderit.** It is remarkable that this is the very word used by Cicero *Att.* 11. 6. 6 of the intended confiscations by the *Pompeians* 'L. uero Lentulus Hortensii domum *sibi* et Caesaris hortos et Baias *desponderat*.'

760. **castra** 'in that they are plundering—a camp.'

761. **caespite.** So Caesar says c. 96 'in castris Pompei uidere licuit trichilas stratas, magnum argenti pondus expositum, *recentibus caespitibus tabernacula constrata*, L. etiam Lentuli et nonnullorum tabernacula protecta hedera.' Plut. *Pomp.* 72, describing the same scene of luxury, says πᾶσα γὰρ σκηνὴ μυρσίναις κατέστεπτο καὶ στρωμναῖς ἀνθιναῖς ἤσκητο καὶ τραπέζαις ἐκπωμάτων μεσταῖς. Lucan, it will be observed, mentions only the *sods* of turf. No doubt the plate and other appliances were *bellorum in sumptus* (753). **caesum** (Crit. App.), the regular word for hewing wood, turf, or stone: cf. Caesar *B. G.* 5. 42 'gladiis caespites circumcidere.' It is here applied to the *cubile* made out of the sods.

764. **quos** 'sc. *at eos*' H. who quotes Hor. *Serm.* 1. 1. 32—36, ib. 41—43. **quies,** 26 n. **furentes,** cf. Prop. 3 (4). 8. 15 'seu timidam crebro *dementia somnia* terrent.'

765. **uersant in pectore,** cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 563 'illa dolos dirumque nefas *in pectore uersat*.' See also Crit. App.

766. **inuigilat,** 'hoc enim in somniis uident quod per diem admisere crudeliter' Schol. Stat. *Theb.* 3. 4 sq., which H. quotes, is a good commentary, '*inuigilant* animo *scelerisque* parati | supplicium exercent curae.'

767. 'And their hands move, closed on the absent sword-hilt.' **mouentur,** as in fighting, cf. 11 201 sqq. 'densi uix agmina uolgi | inter et exangues inmissa morte cateruas | uictores *mouere manum*,' and cf. ib. 261.

768. **putem** and **nocentem** (Crit. App.).

769. **inspirasse,** cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7. 351 'uipeream *inspirans animam*,' imitated by Ov. *Met.* 4. 498 sq. '*inspirant*que *graues animas* nec uulnera membris | ulla ferunt, *mens* est quae diros sentiat ictus.' **animas** seems to mean 'spirits of the dead' (cf. 816), here regarded as exhalations of the earth. It must be remembered that in the Stoic view the soul was corporeal and consisted of fiery breath (Zeller *Stoics &c.* ch. IX). **infectum aera** 'poisoned,' 'tainted air,' not a common use. Cf. however Manil. 2. 354 '*aera*que *infectum* nostras demittit ad auras'; Claud. *in Rufin.* 1. 301 sq. 'ac uelut *infecto* morbus crudescere caelo | incipiens.'

770. **superam noctem** 'night in the upper world,' opposed to *Stygia nocte* 817. Cf. v 627 sq. 'non *caeli nox* illa fuit; latet obsitus aer | *infernae* pallore domus.'

772. **sibila** and **flammas** allude to the snakes and torches of the Furies. **infert** 'brings before them'; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 8. 627 'sponsum unde mihi *sopor intulit amens*?'

773. **terroris imago** 'phantom terror.' Cf. for the gen. IV 231 'pro dira pudoris | foedera,' and 179 (Crit. App.).

774. **figuras**, mere shapes, 'spectres,' so Lucr., Virg. Contrast VI 660 'iam noua, iam *uera* reddetur *uita figura*.'

775. **cadauera**, the corpse, i.e. the phantom which the Romans did not clearly distinguish from it. The shade has all the wounds and marks of the body. Lucan uses plur. for sing. as well as sing. for plur. (102 n.); cf. 408, 440, compare also 711 n. *populus* and *populi* are particularly difficult to discriminate.

776. From **in** twice repeated we may see Lucan's idea is not that of *haunting*, but of *possession*.

777. **Scythica**, at the altar of the Tauric Artemis; see Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*.

778. **Pelopeus**, when applied to members of the family, appears generally to connote crime or disaster. So Prop. 4 (5). 6. 33, Ov. *Tr.* 4. 4. 67.

779. **attonitos**, 134 n. **animi tumultus**, cf. *mentis tumultu* 183; 'miseros *tumultus* | *mentis*' Hor. *Carm.* 2. 16. 10 sq.

780. For Pentheus' illusions see Eur. *Bacch.* 918 sqq., and for Agave's awakening from her madness ib. 1264 sqq. Compare the imitation in Stat. *Theb.* 3. 189 sq. 'cum lassa furorem | uicit, et ad comitum lacrimas expauit Agaue.'

782. **ultrix...dies** 'the day of vengeance'; cf. Sil. It. 2. 495 'statque *dies* ausis olim tam tristibus *ultor*.' **uisura**. The omission of *est* with the fut. part. is very rare. It occurs however in Prop. 1. 19. 18 (perhaps 8. 37) and at least five times in Claudian. **stringente**, sc. *eos*, 'when the senate unsheathes.'

783. **premunt** 'pursue him,' cf. 773. **flagellant**. The idea of scourging is frequent in descriptions of the torments of a guilty conscience; cf. Lucr. 3. 1019 sq. 'at *mens sibi conscia facti* (cf. the next verse) | praemetuens adhibet stimulos terretque | flagellis,' [Quint.] *decl.* 12 § 28 'meum sane conscientia urunt animum intus scelerum faces, et quotiens facta reputaui, *flagella mentis* sonant, ultrices uideo furias (=*infera monstra*).' See also Juv. 13. 193 sqq. (with Mayor's notes).

784. **donat** 'makes a present of,' 'remits'; first of the penalty which is not exacted, a use further developed by Lucan, e.g. VI 58 'et ratibus longae flexus *donare* Maleae' ('to *save* ships the doubling of Malea'); then of the crime for which the penalty is due, as IX 144 'superis haec crimina *dono*,' 1087 sq. 'parcimus annis | *donamus*que *nefas*,' and 850 below.

785. **ingesta** 'thrust upon his sleeping eyes' (57, 798). Compare Statius' imitation *Th.* 7. 466 sq. 'bacchatur utrisque | *Tisiphone* castris; fratrem huic, fratrem *ingerit* illi, | aut utrique patrem.' VIII 431 sqq. 'non tibi cum primum gelidum transibis Araxen | *umbra* senis maesti Scythicis confixa sagittis | *ingeret* has uoces.'

786. **uiuente** 'still alive.' After Pompey's death Cæsar will suffer more.

787. **retexit** 'uncovered,' cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9. 461 'iam rebus luce *retectis*,' and other places in poetry.

788 sq. **nulla** appears to be distributive, '*no feature* of the place,' as in Verg. *G.* 1. 506 'tam multae scelerum facies' means 'so many forms of crime.' It may however be taken with H. as 'not at all,' cf. 25 n. **reuocat...haerentes** 'recalls from lingering'; for the part. cf. 678, 732. **propulsa**, cf. 637.

791. **sidentis** 'sinking down' seems intended to suggest the absent pyre; cf. Prop. 3 (4). 9. 37 '*in cineres* arcem *sedisse* repentes.' Then **in tabem** will = 'non in cineres.'

792. **populos**, cf. 634, 812. **epulis**, mere spite. Appian tells us, c. 81 fin., that on the evening of the battle Caesar and his men supped off a meal prepared for the Pompeians, which is likely enough; cf. Introd. p. xxxii.

794. **non cernere terram**, i.e. to see every inch of ground covered with corpses.

795. **clade**, 651 n. For the next line see Crit. App.

797. **furens** belongs to *inuidet*; see 33 n.

798. **igne**. The abl., which in Quintilian's time was the usual construction, 9. 3. 1 'ut *hac re inuidere*, non, ut ueteres et Cicero praecipue, *hanc rem*,' first appears in Livy 2. 40. 11 'non inuiderunt *laude* sua mulieribus uiri Romani.' It is very likely an imitation of the Gk. gen. with φθονεῖν. **nocenti**. The sense appears to be that he punishes the guilty gods by thrusting (785 n.) the carnage of Pharsalia *in their faces*. Cf. Stat. *Silu.* 2. 2. 84 'quae tibi Parthenopen derecto *limite ponti* | *ingerit*' (forces Naples on your gaze).

800. **consulis**, L. Aemilius Paullus. **Cannae**, like Emathiam

(supra), of the piles of slain. This is made clear by **succensae**, cf. Livy 45. 33. 2 '*subdita face* succendit.' For the facts see Introd. p. xxxiv, n. 3.

801. **in hoste** (Crit. App.), cf. Prop. 3 (4). 19. 28 'uictor erat quamuis, aequus *in hoste* fuit.'

803. **ciues**, so more obnoxious than *hostes*. The violence of civil animosity has been often shown in history, as in the feuds of Corcyra and in the ferocious language of Vitellius, which H. quotes, Suet. *Vit.* 10 'optime olere occisum hostem, et melius ciuem.'

805. **non interpositis**, generally interpreted (after the Schol. 'separatis') 'with no gaps between them.' As this inverts the verb's meaning, it is best to explain it of bodies so closely packed on a single pile that no flames can pass between them.

806. **aut** etc., if you act thus to pain your son-in-law, there is a more effectual way of doing it. **nemus** 'the felled timber,' cf. Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 1223 '*structum* aceruans *nemore congesto* aggerem.'

810. **receptat**, cf. Lucr. quoted on 818.

811. **sibi debent**, i.e. have in them the seeds of their own decay.

812. **usserit**. The fut. perf. means 'though you effect your purpose now.'

814. **communis rogus**, when the world is destroyed by fire. The periodical destruction of the world by fire (ἐκπύρωσις) or by water was held by Seneca, as by most Stoics, though when the agent would be fire and when water, was not actually determined. Berosus, quoted by Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* 3. 29. 1, held that the universal conflagration would take place when all the planets were in the same straight line in the sign of Cancer, and the universal deluge when that sign was Capricorn. See also 135 n. **ossibus astra mixturus.** So v 636 'nox *manes mixtura deis*.'

815. **tuam.** The subst. *animam* is anticipated from the next line; for a somewhat similar anticipation cf. 20 n.

816. **eunt**, see Crit. App. and 114 n. The sense is 'whatever the destination of your spirit, *some* of these spirits will be there with you.' Lucan has of course no doubt of Caesar's destination. **ibis in auras.** The Stoics believed that the souls of the good, after undergoing a purgation, rose into the ether where they assumed a spherical shape like the stars'; hence Pompey's *umbra* '*aeternos* animam collegit in *orbes*' (IX 9). Lucan (l.c. 5 sq.) fixes as the place 'qua niger astriferis conectitur axibus aer | quaque patet *terras inter lunaeque meatus*;' cf.

Seneca *Cons. ad Marc.* 25. 1 'paulum supra nos commoratus dum expurgatur et inhaerentia uitia situmque omnem mortalis aeui excutit, deinde *ad excelsa sublatus* inter *felices* currit *animas.*' There they remained till the general conflagration. The souls of the bad on the other hand were punished in the nether world. So apparently Seneca *Ep.* 117. 6, and other writers.

818 sq. refer to the bodies. **fortunae.** The gen. is a Graecism, first in Horace (*A.P.* 212), and Virgil (*Aen.* 10. 154) '*libera fati.*' **capit** etc., cf. Lucr. 2. 999 sqq. 'cedit item retro, de terra quod fuit ante, | in terras et quod missumst ex aetheris oris, | id rursum caeli rellatum templa receptant,' cf. 5. 319 sq. 'si *procreat* ex se | omnia, quod quidam memorant, recipitque perempta' (i.e. *caelum*). **caelo tegitur.** For the met. cf. Lucr. 6. 1134 'caeli mutemus *amictum.*'

820. **inhumato funere** 'unburied corpses.' The opposite is found in Claudian *in Rufin.* 1. 155 'et *condita funera* traxi | carminibus uictura meis,' cf. IX 151 'inhumatos condere manes.' For the sing. cf. 102 n.; and for the abstract 471 n.

821. **cladem,** 651 n.

822. **trahe,** here 'drink'; cf. IV 368 'subitarum *tractus* aquarum.' **utere,** i.e. breathe.

823. **sed** 'No!'

827. **Pholoen.** Lucan clearly regards this as a mountain in Thessaly or its neighbourhood; cf. III 197 sqq. 'linquitur *Haemus* | Thracius et populum *Pholoe* mentita biformem. | deseritur *Strymon,* tepido committere Nilo | *Bistonias* consuetus aues' (cf. 833), and VI 388 sqq. And so Statius *Ach.* 1. 168, 238 (where it is joined with Tempe and Othrys), and also *Theb.* 3. 604, 10. 228 (where the reference is to Thessalian horses), and Sidon. Apoll. 6. 23 '*Pindus Othrys Pholoe.*' Ovid *F.* 2. 273 and Pliny *N. H.* 4. 21 name it as a mountain in Arcadia, and so many Greek writers. It is however clearly placed in Thessaly by Euripides *Herc. Fur.* 182, compared with 363 sqq., Orph. *Arg.* 382, Dionysius in *Anth. Pal.* 6. 3. It would seem then more than probable that there was a Pholoe in Thessaly as well as in Arcadia, just as there was a river Peneus near both; and that where the fight of the Centaurs and Lapithae is referred to (as Val. Fl. 1. 140, 3. 66) the *Thessalian* Pholoe is intended. **leones.** In the time of Pausanias lions existed in Thrace (6. 5. 4).

830. **motum** 'disordered,' 'upset'; of the human body Livy 25. 26. 7 'nam tempore autumni et locis natura grauibus—intoleranda uis

aestus per utraque castra omnium fere corpora *mouit*'; of the mind Ov. *Tr.* 5. 6. 24 'ut mea sit longis mens quoque *mota* malis.' For the sense compare Milton *Paradise Lost* bk. x 'So saying with delight he snuff'd the smell | Of mortal change on earth.' **cadauere**, 598 n.

832. The cranes—birds which do not eat carrion—were this year later in migrating from Thrace to Egypt. Their migration is alluded to V 711 sqq. Cf. Shelley *Hellas*, 'As multitudinous on the ocean line | As *cranes* upon the cloudless *Thracian* wind.'

834. **tanto uolture** seems to be an expression like *multa auis*, which means not 'many a bird' (distributive), but 'plenty of birds' (collective), as *multa rosa* means a 'bed of rose-leaves,' so that we might translate 'never did the sky clothe itself so thickly with vultures.' But, as Lucan frequently puts singular for plural (cf. 102 n.), it differs little from 'so many vultures.'

835. **induit.** For the metaphor cf. Claud. *Phoenix* (*c. min.* 27) 77 'exercitus ingens (alituum) | obnubit uario late conuexa meatu.' He has used the same metaphor twice before 538, 819.

837. **alite** (cf. *uolture* 834)...**roribus,** a good instance of the way in which ablatives are sometimes accumulated in Latin in slightly different senses; the first one is nearly equivalent to *per* with the acc. For the phrase, which appears to be from Virg. *Aen.* 12. 339 sq. 'spargit rapida ungula *rores* | sanguineos' (cf. 8. 645 '*rorabant sanguine* uepres') compare IX 698 'dirosque fero *de sanguine rores*.'

838. **uictoris,** the victorious army, cf. 758 n.

841. **peruenit ad ossa** 'was reduced to bones,' cf. Varro *R. R.* 1. 23. 3 'si [lupinum] *ad siliquas* non ita *peruenit* ut,' 'reaches the stage of pods.'

842. **abit** with **in feras,** 'passed into beasts.'

843. **auide.** Cf. 'auide desaeuit' VI 540, 'auide petitis' IV 445.

844. **degustant** 'taste of,' cf. IX 287 sq. (of bees tasting flowers) 'nec iam *degustat* amarum | desidiosa thymum'; of a slight scratch, Virg. *Aen.* 12. 376 'summum *degustat* uolnere *corpus*.' **Latiae,** cf. 400 n.

845. **nimbi** 'rain.'

846. **longior,** the comparative differs little from the positive, but appears to mark impatience, VIII 27 '*longius aeuum* | destruit ingentis animos,' 'unduly protracted.' **resolutam,** broken up into its components; cf. Lucr. 2. 62 sq. 'quo motu genitalia materiai | corpora res uarias gignant *genitasque resoluant*.'

847. **tanto,** Crit. App.

849. **scelerum fatis.** It is not clear whether 'wicked deaths' or 'fated crimes' is intended.

850. **inmemor,** by ceasing to remember. H. well translates 'forget and forgive' (**donet** 784 n.). **uetustas** 'length of ages.'

851. **decolor.** Cf. *sanguine decolor* Ovid, Stat.

853. **nouae,** at Philippi, see 872 n.

854. **siccos hoc sanguine,** Prop. 4 (5). 10. 11 sq. 'hic spolia ex umeris ausus sperare Quirini | ipse dedit, sed non *sanguine sicca suo*.'

855. **uertamus** 'upturn,' of ploughing; Lucr. 5. 210 'fecundas uertentes uomere glaebas,' and elsewhere.

856 sq. **et...et** 'both—and.' **radice,** as of the wild fig-tree *caprificus*. **uictis conpagibus** refers to the *tumuli*. For the union of ablatives cf. 836 n.

859. **ruricolis...dentibus,** i.e. the share of the *ruricolae aratri* as Ovid calls it, *Tr.* 4. 6. 1.

860. **ab.** The prose construction appears to be *religare ad.* In poetry *ab* (Virg. *Aen.* 7. 106, Ov. *Met.* 14. 445) 'herboso religatus ab aggere funis,' *in* (Ov. Catull. with *acc.*) or the simple abl. (Hor. Sen.) are used.

862. **bustum.** Cf. 'commune sepulcrum Europae Asiaeque' Catull. 68. 89.

863. **gregibus** includes flocks and herds; both liked the low-growing shrubs. **dumeta.** Virg. *Ecl.* 1. 76, *G.* 1. 15.

866. **inpatiens hominum,** and so uninhabited; cf. IX 857 '*inpatiensque* solum *Cereris* cultore negato.'

867. **limite** 'zone' (*zona* or *plaga*), cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7. 226 sq. 'et si quem extenta plagarum | quattuor in medio dirimit plaga *solis iniqui*.' The abl. is one of cause, 'through being in the torrid zone,' cf. also 72 n.

869. **liceat** 'let it be possible,' which it is not, as no land is more *nocens* than another.

870. 'Why seek to convict and to absolve the whole world at once?' **premitis** has a special reference to criminal trial = 'to fasten guilt on a defendant'; cf. Suet. *Ner.* 7 'a qua rea *premebatur*,' Ov. *Met.* 14. 401 '*criminibus*que *premunt* ueris'; cf. Livy 3. 13. 1 '*premebat* reum praeter uulgatam inuidiam *crimen* unum.' It is opposed to **absoluitis,** for which cf. II 249 sq. 'an placuit—ciuile *absoluere* bellum?'

871. **Pachyni** refers to the wars with Sex. Pompeius. The fighting was however chiefly near the straits of Messina.

872. **Mutina,** the war with Antony in which Hirtius and Pansa were killed, cf. I 41 sq. 'his, Caesar, Perusina fames Mutinaeque labores | accedant fatis, et quas premit aspera classes | Leucas et ardenti *seruilia bella* sub Aetna.'

Philippos is reserved to the end. It of course means both Pharsalia and Philippi.

From a comparison of Lucan's language in book VII and elsewhere it would appear that he uses Pharsalia in Thessaly and Philippi in Macedonia as though they were convertible terms. Of *Pharsalia*, besides the correct *Thessalia Thessalicus* (VII 6, 152, 164, 202, 302, 439, 454, 473, 650, 693, 765, 808, 847), we find used also *Emathia*, *Emathius* (166, 191, 427, 683, 794, 799, 846, 860 of both Pharsalia and Philippi), and *Haemonia*, *Haemonius* (825, 858 of both). Further, *Pharsalia* is placed near Mount Haemus, the Balkan range (174, 480), and Thrace (826, 833). *Philippi* is said to be in Thessaly (591 sq.), and it is used of both the battles (872), which are said to take place on the same ground (854). This confusion did not begin with Lucan. Ovid clearly identifies the two in *Met.* 15. 823 sq. '*Pharsalia* sentiet illum (Augustum) | *Emathia*que iterum madefient caede Philippi.' So Manilius 1. 908—913 and probably Propertius 3 (4). 11. 35 and 40 (and my *praefatio* p. vi), not to speak of later writers. The source of the confusion has been sought by Merivale and others in a misunderstanding of Virg. *G.* 1. 489 sqq. 'ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis | Romanas acies *iterum* uidere *Philippi;* | nec fuit indignum superis *bis* sanguine nostro | *Emathiam* et latos *Haemi* pinguescere campos.' It certainly seems most improbable that Virgil should have been ignorant that Philippi was nowhere near Pharsalia: *iterum* may be taken with *paribus concurrere telis*, while in the following lines *bis* may be taken as once in Emathia (i.e. Thessaly) and once in the broad Haemus plains (Macedonia); or again, what seems preferable, these two expressions together may be supposed to be the equivalent of the political Macedonia which included Thessaly. Besides the ambiguity of this passage, there were other circumstances which would contribute to confusion. *Emathia*, the old name of Macedonia or that of one of its districts, appears also in Thessaly ([Hom.] *Hymn. Ap.* 216), of which according to Servius on Virg. l.c. it was actually a name. *Haemonia*, the old name of Thessaly, is applied by Apollonius Rhodius to a district of Macedonia, and there was an *Enipeus* in Macedonia as well as in Thessaly. It may however be doubted whether the confusion is due to sheer mistake. Rhetoric and flattery probably had a hand in its production. How effective was it to make the two great battles fought on the same *ground!* *How* dexterous to suggest to a ruler who wished to bring his *own fortunes into the* closest connexion with the career of his 'parent' *that here too he* followed him '*per*que *patris* pater Augustus uestigia *uicit!*' *Manil.* l.c.

CRITICAL APPENDIX[1].

Manuscripts. Few writers appear to have been more popular in the Middle Ages than Lucan; and there are consequently a great number[2] of manuscripts of his poems in existence. Those on which recent criticism bases the text belong for the most part to the 10th century.

M Montepessulanus at Montpellier.
U Vossianus II at Leyden.
B Bernensis at Berne.
E Erlangensis at Erlangen[3].
V Vossianus I at Leyden.
G Gemblacensis at Brussels.

Besides these there are some fragments of two much older MSS (palimpsest) written in capitals and ascribed to the 4th century, containing portions of books V, VI and VII.

N partly at Vienna and partly at Naples.

P Palatinus at Rome, Vaticanus n. 24, containing VI 21–61, 228–267, VII 458–537.

Dr Hosius cites also C, Commenta Bernensia, Berne (370) 10th cent., which consists of scholia (i.e. extracts with explanations) without text.

The first named MSS he divides into two groups: I. the '*Pauline*' group, so named from a subscription which is found at the end of books II, VII, X, in M and U, *Paulus Constantinopolitanus emendaui mea manu solus*. This Paulus whose date has been assigned as A.D. 674 (Teuffel's

[1] The materials are drawn chiefly from Dr Hosius' edition (Teubner, 1892) with *Praefatio* and *Apparatus criticus*, and from his and Mr Heitland's papers in the *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1893, pp. 337-353, and the Classical Review, 1894, pp. 34 sqq., 122, 371 sq.; 1895, pp. 8 sqq., 149 sqq., 193 sqq.

[2] Certainly considerably over a hundred; but the exact number is unknown.

[3] See *De Lucani codice Erlangensi* by Arnold Genthe (Jena, 1894).

Hist. of Latin Literature, 303. 9) appears to have made a text for Lucan, just as Mauortius (ib. 477. 3) consul A.D. 527 did for Horace and other writers. To M and U, as it would appear from internal evidence, B and E, which agree together very closely (with C), should be added as also representing the Pauline text. II. the '*non-Pauline*' group includes V and G and gives a different, and on the whole an inferior text. The palimpsest fragments, which are three centuries older than Paulus, show a text which differs considerably from the 'Pauline[1].'

The texts which these manuscripts severally give are not quite pure. In other words they show traces of mixture through the introduction of readings from other sources than those they were immediately derived from.

The text which may be elicited from a comparison of these readings (for though M is perhaps the best, no one of them can be followed exclusively) is not without corruption. It is however better than that of many Latin writers.

DIGEST OF READINGS.

When more than one reading is cited, that standing first is the reading of the text. The small letters denote readings introduced by correction into the manuscripts; e.g. m denotes corrections in M. In such cases the original reading is, where necessary, indicated by ^{1} placed above the line, thus M^1. *ed.* denotes conjectures by the present editor. *ad loc.* means the explanatory notes.

2 *luctificos* Burmann, perhaps rightly, as otherwise it is natural to join *numquam magis* with *aethera contra*, which cannot be right. With Lucan however the argument is not conclusive. **3** *currumque* EGb, possibly right. **28** *populis* MBE, *populo* V^1, *populi* UGv some edd., taking *pares* as a verb 'whence get?' **43** *edere*, for which U has *odere*, M^1B^1 *sedere*, seems corrupt. It cannot be taken either as (1) 'used up' (consumpsere) 'all the grief' they were allowed to show (Ov. *Met.* 13. 540 is different) or as (2) 'mumbled' 'did not let out.' *clausere* (or *clusere*) 'shut in' would express the sense required (for which we may compare 1 257 sqq., 20 sq.) and is not far from the letters, as *cl*

[1] Dr Hosius in his genealogical tree of the relations of the codices (*praefatio* p. xix) makes MBC direct descendants of the copy of Paulus, while UG are partly derived from V. It is certainly not easy to explain the relation of the readings of our MSS to a 'Pauline' original in many passages of VII, e.g. 130, 154, 180, 303, 503, 530, 751, 796, 816.

and *d* are often confused and *o* often written for *au* or *u*. *sedere* and *odere* would then both preserve more of the truth than *edere*. **58** *perdere* U^1V^1, an easier and worse reading than *uertere*. **72** *humano generi* old editions. **90** omitted by MB and rejected by some scholars. Some such line however appears to be wanted. **95** Bentley would punctuate *o caeci scelerum*. **103** omitted by $M^1B^1E^1U^1$. **125** *ut euictus* Bentley. **130** *mortis uenturaest* ed. (*m. uenturae est* vulg.), *mortis uenturae* B^1Um, *et mors uentura est* MVGb, U has *est* at the end of 129. The variants seem to be best explained by the text. *uenturae* and *st*, the weak form of *est*, were written as one word in accordance with the best classical usage; compare note on 532 below. For the words Hosius well compares Juv. 4. 74 sq. '*in quorum facie* miserae magnaeque sedebat | *pallor amicitiae*.' **141** *corrigitur* (or *conr.*) ed., *erigitur* MSS which would mean 'is set upright' or 'is elevated' (e.g. Livy I. 27. 8). For 'corrigere' cf. Seneca *de ira* I. 6. 8 'hastilia detorta corrigamus,' 'curua corrigere' Plin. *Ep.* 5. 21. 6 'to set the crooked straight,' proverbial of a Utopian reformer. The corruption, which appears to be due to the first letter of l. 140, was detected by Nettleship who proposed *derigitur*; but 'derigere' seems to mean 'to make something straight' (ab initio), not 'to straighten it.' **143** *aptat* a variant reading of v adopted by Grotius and Oudendorp, *artat* the MSS. It is hard to see why the horsemen should draw the reins tight (for the sense of which cf. [Tib.] Pan. Messal. 91 sq. 'aut quis equum celeremue arto compescere freno | possit et effusas tardo permittere habenas') *before going into action*, and several of our MSS have *artare* for *apt.* at VIII 655. Compare 'aptare arma' Livy 5. 49. 3 'make ready for action.' **154** omitted by M^1U^1 and generally condemned as an interpolation. *oculis* should be *oculos*. **156** *pythonas* BME, a mere corruption of *typhonas*. **172** *nimione* Bersmann, *nimioue* MSS. **179** sq. *defunctosque ululare patres et s. u.* ed. after Oudendorp who reads *defunctos ululare*; most editors follow MBEG. The MSS disagree remarkably here. *defunctosque patres et cunctas s.* MBEG, *defunctos uolitare patres et s.* VU; in 180 EGB have *uolitare* or the like, MVU *ululare*. The suspicious word in these variants and in the vulgate text is *cunctas*, which is extremely feeble in itself, and necessitates our giving to *sanguinis* the sense of 'kindred' which is without example, if we except a corrupt passage in Phaedrus (I. 28. 10); Heinsius conjectured *iuncti* for it, but this does not explain the other MS variants. On the other hand *ululare* (cf. Ov. *Fast.* 2. 549–552) and *uolitare* which Hosius well defends inter alia by [Ovid] *Ibis* 157 'ante os oculosque uolabo' as

both appropriate words. Retaining both and ejecting *cunctas*, we have an unexceptionable text which will explain the variants. *ululare* (179) and *uolitare* (180) occurred in the same place of the line so that their transposition was easy. When this took place the *que* was omitted for the scansion. This gives VU's reading. In the other MSS *ululare* was corrupted to *uolitare* and then omitted as superfluous and unmetrical (in M without this excuse) and *cunctas* added to make a line[1]. The sense will be then 'they seemed to hear their fathers shriek like spirits of the dead and to see their bloody wraiths flit before their eyes.' *sanguinis*='sanguineas,' cf. 773 n.; it explains why the appearance was an *omen scelerum*. They hoped to slay their parents. Compare Homer *Od.* 20. 351 sqq. which Lucan is adapting: ἆ δειλοί, τί κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε; νυκτὶ μὲν ὑμέων | εἰλύαται κεφαλαί τε πρόσωπά τε νέρθε τε γοῦνα· | οἰμωγὴ δὲ δέδηε, δεδάκρυνται δὲ παρειαί, | αἵματι δ' ἐρράδαται τοῖχοι καλαί τε μεσόδμαι· | εἰδώλων δὲ πλέον πρόθυρον· πλείη δὲ καὶ αὐλὴ | ἱεμένων ἔρεβόσδε ὑπὸ ζόφον· ἠέλιος δὲ | οὐρανοῦ ἐξαπόλωλε, κακὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν ἀχλύς. **180** *dementibus*, ed. for *sed mentibus* MSS in which neither *sed* nor *mentibus* appear to have any sense. For *demens* in a similar connexion, cf. Prop. 3. 8. 15 'seu timidam crebro *dementia* somnia *terrent*.' The *s* of suos was written twice and *d* and *e* transposed. **199** *lumen* (a common corruption of *numen*) V[1]UG some edd. **200** omitted by MBE[1]. **202** *cuncta* is superfluous and may have come from 201. *caeca* would furnish an excellent antithesis to *spectari*. **216** I have changed the punctuation, placing a comma after *certo*, instead of after *campis*. **225** *habenis* BE. Cf. Sil. It. quoted ad loc. **244** *et* added by Grotius. The asyndeton in the MSS is without justification. *fatis* VU[1] Hosius; but see the parallels cited ad loc. **252** The MSS here are divided between *arcessite* and *accersite*. These two originally distinct verbs (Dr Wilkins *Journal of Philology* VI p. 278, Nettleship *Contributions to Latin Lexicography* s. vv.) appear to be inextricably confused in MSS. **257** sq. only in G and mvbe, apparently an addition by someone who desired in Caesar's speech something corresponding to vv. 345 sq. in Pompey's. Caesar does not appeal to selfish motives till 264 sqq. **262** The MSS are thus divided here: *gladioque* G (also C), *gladiisque* VU, *gladiosque* M, B omits the word perhaps as illegible; for *culpam* VG (*culpas* U) MB have *culpa*. *gladiis* (and *culpas*) may be dismissed as accommodations to the plural *exsoluite*. They seem however to presuppose gladio—

[1] This was written before I found practically the same reading and explanation in Oud.'s note.

culpam. We have then to decide between *gladio—culpam* and *gladios—culpa*. In the conflict of MS testimony internal considerations must decide, and 'free your swords from guilt' as explained by l. 261 '*patriam—petistis*' is not so pertinent in the context as 'free yourselves from guilt by your swords,' i.e. 'pugnate truces'; cf. VIII 517 sq. 'crimen habemus | purgandum gladio' and elsewhere and for the verb *exsoluite* V 259 'metus *exsoluerat* audax | turba suos.' On the other hand Hosius' reading may be thought to derive some support from 263 'nulla *manus—pura* est.' **286** *quorum* M¹G¹V Hosius; but *quarum* BU (also C) is a less obvious reading and agrees better with *ensem—lancea—lacerto*. **303** *parata* MV Hosius; but *paratur* BEUG (and C) is well explained by Mr Heitland 'what we are doing today means reward or punishment according to the event' and is supported by 470. **317** *quantum* MB which is awkward; cf. 847 below. **322** *uerendos,—pignus*. ed., *uerendos.—pignus*, the vulgate, see ad loc. **328** *ne* MSS, which is abrupt, *nec*, an easy change, would continue the command in 326. **331** For the not very satisfactory *capiunt* we may conjecture *rapiunt*. **335** *locasses* Grotius, *locasset* the MSS absurdly; for Lucan would not have said 'si Caesar in Marte locasset totidem Caesares' (*Magni soceros*), and he has just told us Caesar did not arrange his men. **340** *timeri* Heinsius perhaps rightly, though Virg. *Aen*. 7. 173 sq. slightly favours the active. **351** *uolunt* MU, not so idiomatically. **363** Mr Heitland rightly defends *comprensum* 'encompassed' against *compressum*, V and most edd., comparing IX 913 'quas ualli spatium *comprendit* harenas' and observing that 'premeretur' in III 253 is not really parallel. **385** *concurrunt* G, Grotius; but the actual engagement does not begin till 470. **394**, **393** ed., 393, 394 MSS and edd. With the vulgate order the constr. is taken to be 'rus uacuum uix poterit monstrare Albanos Lares.' But ruins are not specially characteristic of Gabii Veii and Cora nor desolate country of Alba and Laurentum; both belong to both. And, as the *que*'s indicate, 394 is part of the catalogue of cities. Probably the verses would have been transposed before but for the fact that a reference to Alba follows. This however counts for nothing, as the last town mentioned, Laurentum, is no nearer to Alba than either Gabii or Cora. **395** *quo* MG (?E¹); but elsewhere in Lucan *habito* takes the acc., seemingly the proper case in this use; cf. e.g. Horace *Ep*. 1. 14. 2 *(agellum)* 'habitatum quinque focis.' **406** *corpore* BG, *tempore* (by a common confusion) EVU¹ (and M, but over an erasure) which suggests *that civil* wars ended with Pharsalia. **407** *posset* MU, which might stand.

414 *plena* MSS, *plana* Bentley. The MS reading seems however to be sufficiently supported by 'plena—urbe' V 33, 'pleno litore' VIII 309. The inhabitants are supposed to have flocked to the city walls (cf. 369). If any change be needed, *prona*, also confused with *plena*, would agree better with *in praeceps*. Cf. Claud. *in Eutrop.* 2. 27 sq. '*tremor* Calchedona mouit | *pronus*.' **419** *quo* edd., *quam* M^1, *quae* the rest. **421** *omnibus annis* MVBG; *omnibus armis*, EUC Hosius, would echo *omne bellum* in the same line. The antithesis of *dies—annis* seems decisive for the former. One day destroyed the work of all the years. **436** sqq. *Ausoniam.—nostris uolturis* ed., *Ausoniam,—nostris; uolturis* the vulgate. With the latter punctuation *uellem* has to be taken in a sort of parenthesis with *incognita* (fem. sing.) 'liberty which I could wish had been unknown' and *seruisses* as= 'seruire debebas' (cf. 646 n.). *uellem* however never seems to be so used (though 'utinam' is in Tib. 1. 3. 2), and a feeble line is produced. **450** *Mimantis* Parrhasius, *minantis* (or *-es*) the MSS. **452** *intulit* MBE, *inpulit* UVGC. With Mr Heitland I prefer the former 'brought the stars in upon Thyestes.' He says "the sense will be very like VI 742–4 *tibi...inmittam ruptis Titana cauernis | et subito feriere die*." **462–3** A well-known crux. P (see above, p. 89) VU (originally it would appear; both lines are over erasures) have the order 463, 462; and so Lactantius Placidus the commentator on Statius, our oldest authority except P (he does not quote 463 at all). The order 462, 463 is given by MBE. G omits 462 which is added by g. Internal considerations lead me to assent to Mr Heitland who recommends the order of the older witnesses. Coming to other differences, we must regret that P has lost the end of 462 having only VVLTVS QVO NO (we may supply SCERE; but the rest cannot be conjectured) and that the readings of M are not certain. The following are the variants in 462:

manum PV Lact.	*tempus* (?M) VC Lact.
manus EU (see above) gv	*uultus* PBEUg
manūs B before an erasure[1]	
quo noscere (?M) VP Lact.	*possent* (*-int* Lact.) (?) MVe
que agnoscere BEUg	*quaerunt* BEUg

In 463 U has *qua* for *quam*; but the MSS otherwise agree. It thus appears (1) that *manum* is better supported than *manus* which however has some authority; (2) that *uultus* and *tempus* are well supported, the former more strongly; (3) that the letters between *qu* and

[1] (*ū*=*um.*)

n(oscere) are matter of doubt; (4) that there is hopeless disagreement about the end of the line. There are four words, *uultus*, *tempus*, *possent*, *quaerunt* competing for two places. *quaerunt* is now rejected by all, and rightly so: it is clearly an attempt to provide a governing verb for the infinitive. *tempus* again, as Dr Hosius and Mr Heitland agree, is undoubtedly genuine. Of the two words left, *possent* may well have been interpolated for the same reason as *quaerunt*, while *uultus* does not appear to be due to *agnoscere*, as it occurs in P. *uultus* again gives a touch which Lucan is not likely to have omitted (cf. 322, IV 170). I think then the variants are best explained by the hypothesis that the end of 462 was injured in the archetype and its last word *tempus* was written in again in a place where it might be thought to refer to *uultus*, one scribe accordingly taking *uultus* and another *tempus* from the supposed alternatives and each filling up the line according to his fancy, the difficulty of the real construction 'noscere uoltus ac (noscere) quae monstra facturi forent' (cf. 375 n.) preventing them from seeing the truth. As QVE is written Q. in early MSS, *-que agnoscere* and *quo noscere* could easily come from Q.ACNOSCERE (*ac noscere* which Oudendorp conjectured). The resulting reading will be *inde manum spectant*; uultus*que* ac *noscere* tempus. The disagreement about the order of the lines may mean that one of them (which must be 463, where too it may be observed that *aut* is not correctly used) is spurious. Then we shall read and punctuate *inde manus spectant* uultus*que*, ac *noscere* tempus. **488–521** PMGV have these verses in the order of the numbers which, however, as Dr Hosius and Mr Heitland contend, cannot be correct. They adopt the order of U and with slight difference of BE, 488, 510–520, 489–509, 521. I prefer that of C 488, 514–520, 489–513, 521: for (1) it is not like Lucan to mention the light-armed without any description of them; (2) there is no close connexion between 488 and 510–513, while there is a close connexion between 488 and 514 sqq. *tunc et* 'then even the Ituraeans'; (3) *illic* (510) has no special point following 488, whereas after 509 it indicates *belli per ultima* and *per extremos—maniplos*; (4) we now understand the transpositions; someone observed that light-armed (archers) were mentioned in 514–520 and also in 510–513 and put a mark against each of the passages, in consequence of which subsequent copyists brought the passages together, some by moving 514–520 and others by moving 510–513. **489** *cladis* VUC, *cladus* M, *gladiis* GP (cf. on 748 below), *hominum* BE a gloss on *cladis*. **503** *a sanguine* MV, an interpolation to explain *calet*. **504** sq. I long ago proposed *rerum* tot pondere 'with

the weight of so many circumstances' which would agree well with *uertens* if it could have a neuter sense 'rocking' (otherwise *nutans* or perhaps *uergens* which is said to be in some MSS might be read). In 505 Bentley proposed dis*tulit* and, unnecessarily, *tor*que*nte*, taking *diu* with the main verb. *abs*tine*t* 'withholds' would perhaps be better. sus*tulit* 'withstood,' which I also proposed, would do if we read *urgentis* for *ingentis*. **509** *laeuasque* Bentley, to make Lucan agree with Caesar (but see *diduxit cornua* 506 and note there), and because *saeuas* ought not to be applied to Pompeians, but see 511. **521** *frons ibi* P. **522** *tenet* is most obscure. It cannot have its usual sense 'keeps in position' as that would contradict the next line and it can hardly be interpreted as meaning 'quas ad id ipsum *tenebat*.' A verb of moving appears to be required and *ciet* suggests itself: *ciere* is used of moving reserves in Livy 9. 39. 8 'ab ultimis deinde subsidiis cietur miles.' The change is an easy one, and we have observed how often Lucan's vocabulary coincides with Livy's. **530** *pubes* EVU and some editors. **532** *secutast* P originally, the better form, see on 130 above, *secuta est* the rest. **571** *scelerum et* BE some edd. **575** *contundere* all the MSS but V; but this verb is not used for cutting or thrusting. **584** Bentley, whose note should be read, well supports his ingenious conjecture *tot tantaque*. But the *Torquati* follow naturally on the *Coruini*, a name of similar origin. Lucan mentions a Torquatus among the Pompeians in VI 285. **587** *quid* Burman from a codex at Hamburg, and so Dr Hosius against his MSS which all have *quod*. Mr Heitland prefers *quod*, understanding 'how patriotic a weapon!' **589** Dr Hosius conjectures *aeternum*, comparing Virg. *Aen.* 6. 235. Lucan however alters Virgil while imitating him (Heitl. p. 110) and *extremum* seems rhetorically more effective. **594** *humani* U and perhaps G[1]. *culmen* G, the later form for *columen*. *premuntur* VG, *reguntur* MBE and U (but over an erasure), an easier reading. **598** *commixta plebe* V[1]U which directly contradicts 577. **605** *uoluentem* V, the more common word; but *uersantem* is supported by Virg. *Aen.* 11. 669 'moriensque suo *se* in uulnere *uersat*.' **616** *mersere* Oudendorp, *uertere* MSS which Mr Heitland defends (*Cl. Rev.* IX p. 196), *pressere* mb, Hosius, right in sense but not near enough to the tradition. **622** *anima* U (rightly, see ad loc.), *animae* G[1], *animam* the other MSS and Hosius who takes it with *ictus* (MUE[1] for *ictu*). **625** *e scissis* ed., *emissis* MSS which compels us to take *uenis* as 'blood,' a use without example in Lucan or other Classical writers.

abscindo, *rescindo*, *interscindo* are all used of opening veins, and the emendation is supported by the passage of Ovid quoted ad loc. which Lucan appears to have in mind: 'trans*mittant*' in the previous line may have induced the corruption. **641** Hosius reads *uincimur* with V, and *seruiat* with MBEV. But see Mr Heitland (*Cl. Rev.* IX p. 197). *quae seruiat* 'to be slaves' may however possibly be right. **643** *pauidi* EUG several edd., but the adv. is clearly right. **658** *uoluit* ed. with MSS, *volvit* the vulgate. We have here a good example of the consequences of neglecting to spell Latin as the Romans spelt it. The MSS, except V which gives *uouit*, have *uoluit* which may come either from *uelle* or *uoluere*. The edd. write *volvit*, thus *unconsciously altering* the text. Naturally dissatisfied with this, they propose conjectures, e.g. *fovit*, *movit*. *nouit*, a variant in V, is better than either; but no change is needed. **659** *iam* BE, *ait* the rest (G over an erasure) and edd., but the verb can be dispensed with, IX 122 sqq. **675** *seu* Sulpitius, *sed* the MSS, a very natural mistake; but *seu* not only agrees better with Lucan's custom elsewhere but also with the preceding *aut*. **693** *pugnae* ed., *pugnae,* the vulgate punctuation, which makes the passage somewhat incoherent. As already said (cf. 72, 121 and notes) Lucan is fond of making one noun in the nom. the predicate to another. With *nomen populare erit* means 'will be due to,' but with *par* 'will consist in.' **696** *erit* M perh. E, *erunt* the rest. Both are correct, but *erit* is clearer. **735** *aut Marte subactis* must be corrupt, as it can only mean 'or the *conquered*' as in 613, VIII 144. Bentley conjectured *in M. subactis*, 'regarding the conquered,' and *a Marte peracto* has also been suggested. *subactis* may have come from *peractis*, in which case I would read *ac* for *aut* with V. *peragere* properly is 'to drive through' or 'about,' so 'to exhaust,' cf. Sen. *Ep.* 58. 2 'pecora *peragentem* et totis saltibus dissipantem asilum,' Ov. *F.* 4. 693 sq. 'ille suam *peragebat* humum, siue usus aratri | seu curuae falcis siue bidentis erat,' i.e. *exercebat*. So in Manil. 4. 593 'solem—*peractum*' (Ellis, MSS 'profectum'). **740** *cunctis* is very suspicious. Heins. conjectured *fuluis*. *rutilis* would give the same sense and be somewhat nearer to the MSS. **746–7** Here again the MSS (and editors with them) disagree fundamentally, and the passage appears to have been tampered with. BE read *nec plura locutus*, MC *sic milite iusso* and omit 747. But two MSS give intermediate readings, U having *nec plura locutus* but omitting 747, G *sic milite iusso* but retaining it. These divergencies are intelligible, if originally the two readings of 746

were alternatives and 747 stood in the margin. *nec plura locutus* seems to me more characteristic of Lucan than *sic milite iusso*, which might easily be made up from *v.* 736 'imperium—miles'; see VII 615, 239, 382, also II 490, IV 544, VIII 453 sq. '*non plura locutus* | *inpulit* huc animos.' Again 748 is not exactly an order to the soldiers, but the result of an order. Whether however Lucan wrote 747 must be doubtful; we can only say he might have; for the language cf. besides VIII l.c., I 87, IV 279. I retain it therefore, as at least giving the sense required. **748** *gladios* is suspicious. Burman conjectured *galeas*, Heinsius *clades*; cf. crit. note on 489. **751** *ruunt* MU, *uolunt* BEVG, a natural corruption on which it appears unsafe to build. **754** *impleuit*. The subject is not quite clear; and hence the old conj. *implerunt*. *implebit* (m), which can hardly be a correction, has more to recommend it, if we place a comma after *mentes* and a longer stop after *auri*. The subject of *implebit* will be *v.* 755, and its tense will agree with *putabunt* (757). The superior vigour of this is obvious. But I have left the vulgate. **755** *expuit* BE, *expulit* VUG, *extulit* M. **756** *quodque legit* MBE, but the perfect seems necessary. **761** *caesum* ed. with G, *caecum* B^1, *uacuum* Eb, *stratum* U (and *over an erasure*) MV. *caesum* is at least as well supported as *stratum* (Hosius) for B's first reading *caecum* is an obvious mistake for it and *uacuum* is a gloss on *cassum*, another corruption of it (*cassum* with the same gloss is actually found written over *caesum* in G), whereas M clearly did not read *stratum* originally. *stratum* appears to be a conjecture and an unhappy one to boot; for Lucan, whose object is to cover up the luxury of the Pompeians, would not have used a word which suggested it. *caesum* on the other hand (though perfectly correct, see ad loc.) would be difficult to a scribe. [*cassum* (Heinsius and Oudendorp) does not take an abl. of the person.] **765** *miseris* U Heinsius Oudendorp, *miseri* the other MSS and edd., placing a stop at *furentes*. But against this is first the tautology in *uaesana quies* and *somni furentes*, which is unendurable if the sentence stops there, second the fact that the minds of the sleeping Caesarians are (naturally) represented throughout as passive, whereas *miseri uersant* involves mental activity (cf. Virg. quoted ad loc.). **768** *putes* G some edd., but *putem* is quite correct, cf. V 610 *crediderim*. *nocentes* several edd., perhaps rightly, cf. Ovid's words quoted ad loc. **796** omitted by $M^1U^1G^1$; apparently a marginal addition by some one who thought, not unnaturally, that the brutal conduct ascribed to Caesar required some explanation. **801** *hoste* ME, *hostes* the other MSS, an easier reading. **816** *eunt* BEUm, *sunt* M^1VG

Hosius. These variants may point to *erunt*, which I should prefer. **818** *fortun(a)e* M^1, *fortuna* the rest, not understanding the gen. **820–2** omitted by $M^1V^1G^1$ and out of place in U are rejected by many editors. They seem worthy of Lucan. **843** *auidae* VUG which may be right. **847** *Thessalia* VGC perhaps U, but not so well. *tanto* BCm, more elegant than *tantum* Hosius with the rest. *tandem* is possible. **870** *soluitis* VG.

ADDENDUM.

462—3. I am glad to find myself to a certain extent in agreement with C. M. Francken *Mnemosyne* (*n. series*), vol. 22 p. 166, who reads 'inde manus spectant uoltusque ac noscere quaerunt,' comparing for the corruption II 193 where M reads *ac noscendus* for *agnoscendus*. He places 462 before 463, in which he reads 'quo sua pila cadant et quae sibi fata minentur.' The sense thus obtained is a very fair one: but it may be doubted whether the MS variants can be thus explained; and the preponderance of evidence, as already said, is in favour of a different order of lines.

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